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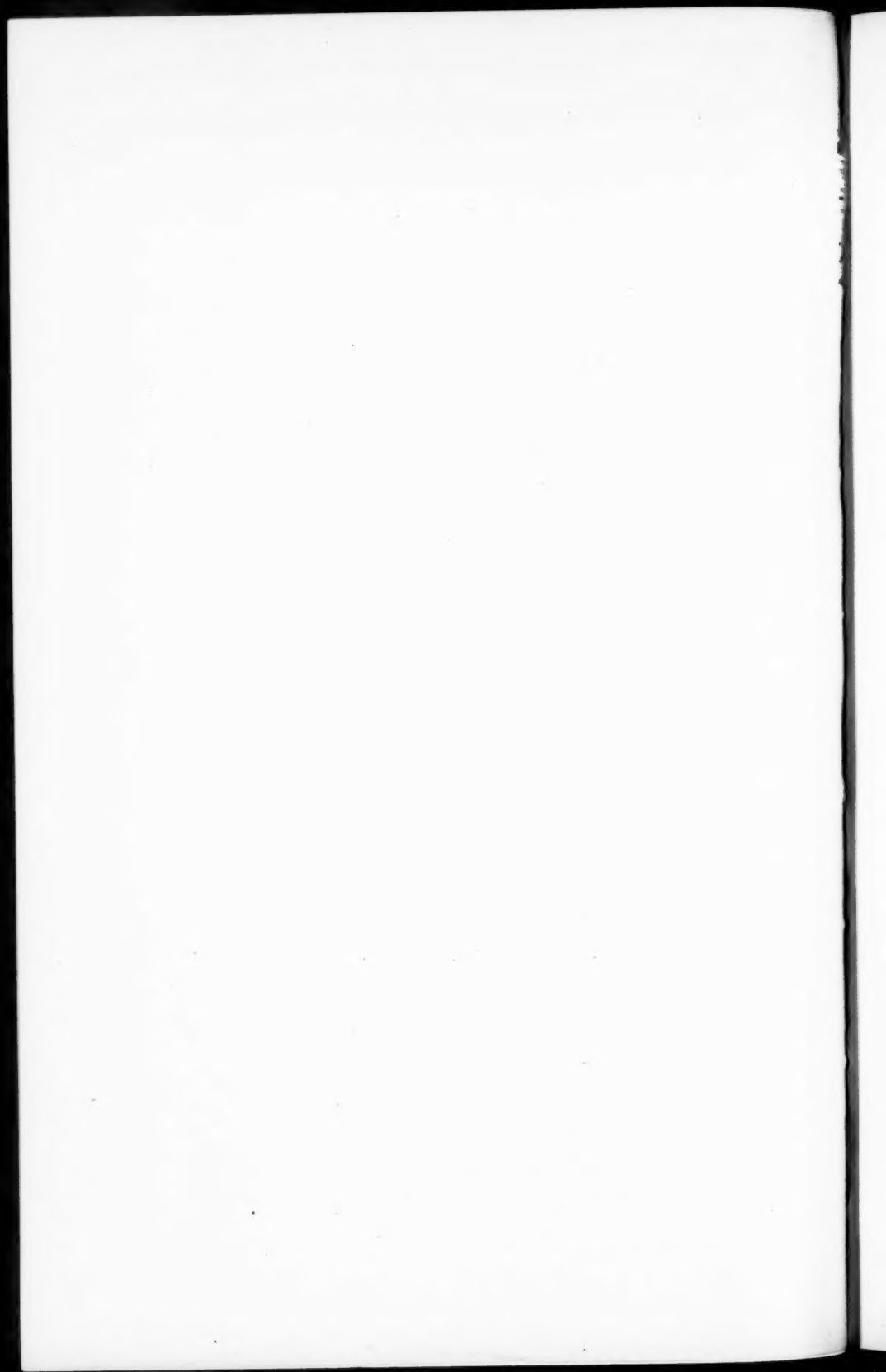
LAWRENCE F. WOOLLEY, M.D.

Washington Institute of Medicine



1720 M. St., N. W.

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JOURNAL of CLINICAL PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

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THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF EXHIBITIONISM

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE*

BEN KARPMAN, M. D.

*St. Elizabeths Hospital
Washington, D. C.*

Introduction: The views of Havelock Ellis, Smith & Guthrie, Maeder, Strasser.

Case Material: Peck. — Karpman. — Sadger. — Stekel.

Disguised Exhibitionism: Acatheisia; Urticaria; Psoriasis; As a Component in other Neuroses.

Analysis of the Material: A. Psychic Mechanisms: 1. Regression. 2. Other Mechanisms. B. Psychogenic Factors: 1. Trauma. 2. Religious Conflicts. 3. Incest. 4. Homosexuality. 5. Masochism and Sadism. 6. Narcism. 7. Passivity. 8. Organ Inferiority. C. Sex Life. — D. Dream Life. — E. Phantasies. — F. Precipitating Factors. — G. Distribution. — H. Types.

Summary and Conclusions.

In the discussion of the clinical picture of exhibitionism, mention had already been made of the works of Krafft-Ebing, Burgl, Bloch and others who, by their excellent accounts of a number of cases of exhibitionism, have advanced considerably our understanding of the problem; although largely descriptive, the cases as reported reveal a good deal of the underlying psychopathology and sometimes come pretty nearly to the surface of the truth. On the other hand, while descriptive literature on exhibitionism is fairly complete, little as yet is known of the underlying psychic mechanisms of this behavior. Exhibitionistic tendencies and reactions are frequently uncovered in the course of many analyses and one may find considerable material scattered here and there, but the number of reported analyses of exhibitionism is still very small. The most significant work comes mainly from Stekel⁽¹⁵⁾ ⁽¹⁸⁾ and Sadger⁽¹³⁾ who studied several cases in detail and reported them with a complete discussion of each.

Ellis⁽⁴⁾ speaks of exhibitionism as a form of erotic symbolism based on a perversion of courtship. The shock experienced by the female from witnessing an act of exhibitionism produces in the exhibitionist the emotions of normal coitus — the exhibitionist always seeks to produce a

* This is Section IV from a forthcoming monograph on the subject. The first three sections have already been published in the *Psychoanalytic Review*, 13:64-97, 1926, including the references. The present review takes up the subject up to 1926. Thereonfrom, it will be continued in a subsequent issue of this Journal by Dr. C. Ray Headlee of Milwaukee, Wis.

maximum of emotional effect — he feels as if he has effected a psychic defloration. Exhibitionism is, in a sense, similar and related to the impulse felt by so many persons to perform indecorous acts, looking at and displaying indecent pictures or using obscene language — by word or in writing — a kind of psychic exhibitionism, the gratification of which, as in physical exhibitionism, is found in the emotional confusion which it is felt to arouse. Ellis also points out that the sexual symbolism of flagellation is very closely analogous to the symbolism of exhibitionism. In fact it is an even closer mimicry of the sexual act than the exhibitionist attains, since the latter fails to secure the consent of the woman nor does he enjoy any intimate contact with her naked body; the active flagellant is, as a rule, a more virile and active person than the exhibitionist. Ellis regards exhibitionism as a pseudo-atavism, since in this phallicism there is no true emergence of an ancestrally inherited instinct, but only that through paralysis or inhibition of the finer and higher feelings current in civilization, the exhibitionist is placed on the same mental level as the man of a more primitive age.

Smith and Guthrie⁽¹⁴⁾ in discussing some of the theoretic aspects stated that exhibitionism need not be regarded as an instinctive tendency stimulated by the presence of other people to make one's self sexually conspicuous, but that, firstly, it is a learned act and, secondly, that many forms of exhibitionism are, for the most part, the result of a nonsexual mechanism. Emotional reactions to visual stimuli are, according to the authors, possible only as conditioned responses and are never the instinctive result of what the body sees. Many of the attention securing acts of children are what we call exhibitionism and these acts become fixed as habitual responses to people who are not paying attention. By trial and error every child hits upon the acts that secure attention — being noisy, swearing, immodest habits, exhibitionism. It seems quite clear that the authors confuse normal exhibitionistic tendencies with morbid exhibitionism which appears as a drive. The authors do not cite any cases or they would have learned that exhibitionism, as will be shown later in the chapter on the mechanisms, is always of psychosexual origin and that even normal exhibitionistic tendencies have, as a background, a strong sexual component.

Maeder^(15A) differentiates several types of exhibitionism, each, as he believes, having a different clinical aspect and a different etiology behind it. In the instance of senility, paralytics, etc., he says, we are dealing with individuals who, in the main, show three factors: intensity of libido, dementia (disintegration of inhibitions) and infantilism. The main

point is largely that of impotence and the outstanding reaction is that of regression. These individuals compensate for sexual inferiority by the display of their genitals, hoping in this manner to attract attention and thus produce a state of sexual excitement. In children, however, the situation is quite different. With their sexual development as yet not having reached its completion and hence without the organic possibility for the expression of a well defined activity; exhibitionism to them is a sexual activity *per se*, an end in itself; they wish for no more, nor can they get any more. In groups they frequent the pissoirs entertaining each other with the observation of excretory acts. Around puberty their exhibitionistic tendencies become much repressed and, although actively surging, appear mainly in dreams; these are the typical nakedness dreams of the adolescent youth. Thus, the growing school girl dreams that the trousers of Herr Professor fell down as he stood before the blackboard demonstrating the lesson; anxious and apprehensive, she awakens amid great agitation and excitement with heart beating powerfully. One observes also not infrequently at this age many neurotic states directly traceable to the repression of the exhibitionistic urge and compulsion, as in the case of an 18 year old youth who suffers with anxiety that his trousers fly may be left open. For some time he has been plagued with the thought that women are in a position to behold his genitals through his trousers; and he no sooner finds himself in feminine society than he feels he must attend to the inspection of his trousers fly and even when found secure, he is almost unable to believe his senses.

As regards epileptics, Maeder suggests two types of exhibitionistic display. In one type, the exhibitionistic display is a brief concomitant of the epileptic attack proper. Here the patients, in their dream-like and dazed condition, carry out into the concrete once more what they as children were in the habit of doing with a certain regularity and frequency, and of which as youths, they have been dreaming often. Such is the instance of a young man, age 26 years, who, while in a state of confusion, lifts his shirt high standing stupidly before the nurses and physicians, naked; not infrequently urinating on the floor attempting to send the stream of urine as far as possible. On coming out of the dazed condition, he speaks of having just had something to do with a girl, of two men cutting his genitals off, etc., — obviously a repetition of childhood impressions.

In the other type, the exhibitionistic display comes on after the attack. Here the coming out of the attack is frequently carried out intentionally, more especially if persons are present before whom disrob-

ing is particularly desirable. For some time following the epileptic attack—hours or days, as the case may be—the patients remain naked, refusing to put on their clothes.

It is to be regretted that Maeder is so brief in his discussion of exhibitionism and epilepsy, for the subject is as interesting as it is important. Indeed, from the cases cited by him and the discussion given, the relation between the two phenomena is not at all established. It would seem that in the first type mentioned by him we are dealing with a phenomenon that more nearly approaches the classic exhibitionistic attack, a true case of psychosexual infantilism; and the presence of epilepsy is merely coincidental (if at all established) bearing neither any specific relation to exhibitionism as such, nor presenting itself as a particular etiologic factor. The other type appears to be an expression of a regression in general and has little, if any, of the specific sexual constellation such as we find in the classic exhibitionism.

Strasser⁽¹⁰⁾ reports 3 cases of exhibitionism. The account is largely descriptive. In the discussion the author emphasizes that this antisocial activity has no conscious criminal intent behind it but is an expression of psychosexual difficulties dating back to early childhood; it is thus genetically related to other types of abnormal behavior—pyromaniac, kleptomaniac, fetishist, etc. Accordingly, punishment as a means of deterring and training exerts but very slight influence and the only approach is psychotherapeutic. As to the underlying psychopathology the author advances the Adlerian conception of "organic inferiority." He points out that all his patients had some physical defects, showed a number of neurotic symptoms, were timid, shy and felt depreciated and unjustly treated by their comrades; they were repressed as regards matters of sex and therefore had to fall back on the phantasies which were all the more intensive; exhibitionism, according to the author, developed in them as a defiance of all inhibitions; unmanly sense of shame was compensated by means of sexual boldness.

Peck⁽¹¹⁾ reports a case of exhibitionism. The patient was a missionary with a negative family history and good mental equipment. Personal history showed him to be of a somewhat nervous make-up with a history at one time of periodic migrainous headaches, sleeplessness and pain in the back of the head. On more than one occasion he suffered from amnesic states relating to unpleasant events. There was also much in his make-up and behavior to suggest strong masochistic tendencies. He often felt inferior before strangers. His outward behavior showed nothing strikingly pathologic. History of excessive masturbation activities from 12 to 18 years of age and the consequent conflict arising was continued longer than usual but had more to do with the fear of its harmful effect than with moral considerations or sex humiliation.

At about the age of 6 an episode took place which left an indelible impression upon his mind. He recalls coming home from school when two older girls in school became overly familiar with some of the older boys in the group with which he was walking. One of the girls went into the country along the side of the road and exposed herself from the rear. The other girl, she must have been about 8 or 10 years older than the patient, told him that his trousers were unfastened in the back and offered to fix them. Believing her, he consented and the first thing he knew she had them down entirely, much to his embarrassment and humiliation. The emotional reaction was so marked that the impression has always remained with him and he frequently thought of the event afterward. About a year or so later, he met the same girl on a lonely road and offered to expose himself to her if she would expose herself to him. She shamed him and laughing passed on. The memory of these episodes remained with him charged with rather strong affect.

He first became engaged while in his sophomore year and a year later it was broken off at the girl's request. His disappointment over this was not long continued and he commented on his lack of erotic feelings during the engagement.

Following graduation from college, he was sent as missionary to an isolated part in the Far East. There he was abstinent. After five years, he married with only a few brief meetings, during the two years courting, more perhaps because of loneliness and lack of social contact with people of his own age. However, his married life appears to have been a happy one. It was stated that he was more highly sexed than his wife. Certain types of women met on the street would cause excitement, quickly subdued. Wife stated that in their daily prayers he often asked in tremendously earnest manner for forgiveness of sins. When the exposure of his habit finally came, he deceived his wife for a day or two, leading her to think it was an accidental matter.

Two months before the marriage date, he had his first impulse to exhibitionism and gave in to it at once. He says: "I was in the mountains of Siam. I was changing my clothes one afternoon, when I noticed a young native woman, just a little way outside my window, which was simply an opening and had not even curtains to close the view. While thus changing my clothes, I stood where she could see me instead of in the hidden portions of the room. After realizing that she saw me, I stepped out of her view. Later I met the girl and she seemed embarrassed.

"About a month later, I was on a river boat with few other men. We had drawn up to the shore and the crews had gone ashore. Some women came down to dip water nearby. I then pretended to be adjusting my trousers in the covered part of the boat, but so located that they could see me, making the whole affair appear as an accident."

Following marriage and the assumption of normal sex relations, the urge ceased wholly for a time, and for several years appeared but rarely. It then began gradually to increase in frequency, episodes averaging roughly once a month over a long period. There was apparently no conscious preparation for the act, the impulse coming on quite suddenly, the patient surrendering to the inclination, without the slightest resistance or struggle to control. A certain setting was required, but he must make sure that they saw his genitalia, preferring, however, that they thought him unaware of the occurrence. During the act, he would glance furtively, not directly, at the women. A woman familiar to him aroused no inclination. The sight of a man instantly inhibited the desire.

Although there is much in the history on this man that is lacking and nothing in the study was brought out that occurred prior to the fifth

year, the case is very instructive. The exhibition episode at the age of 6 is significant but, alone, could hardly be a determining factor in the man's later attacks. His numerous exhibition dreams, which were always accompanied by marked anxiety, are significant of the psychic tension under which the man has been working. In these he is sometimes aggressive deliberately exposing himself, but more often finding himself unexpectedly exposed; in most instances conditions being so arranged for him that women were purposely exposing themselves. The apparently normal married life even with the claim that he was oversexed, yet practically all exhibitionistic attacks occurred since and during marriage; this too with the exhibitionistic attitude which he assumed toward the act as if he gloried in it rather than being ashamed of it, clearly indicate that the man sought and found in exhibitionism a mode of sex expression which he apparently could not find in normal sex relations. The unmistakable neurotic make-up of the individual, excessive and pathologic masturbation, the presence of strong repressions, homosexual dreams and phantasies, and marriage at social rather than at psychosexual level strongly bespeak profound sexual pathology that found partial expression in the phantasies connected with the exhibitionistic attacks.

Karpman^{(8) (9)} reports 2 cases of exhibitionism. The first case concerns an adult white male, age 30, who was arrested on the charge of indecent exposure. The physical examination reveals but little of constitutional pathology that can be taken as definitely significant. The outstanding features are that the man is delicately formed and poorly developed physically, rather youthful, even boyish in appearance and distinctly feminine in his reactions. Many of his bodily features suggest the underdevelopment of the pituitary and thyroid glands. The mental examination shows the man to possess a rather good native intelligence and no evidence of deterioration. However, he has a childish and untrained mind with few interests.

The anamnesis reveals a negative family history and a family setting that was apparently not strikingly different from the ordinary. Patient's early physical history is negative with the exception of an attack of infantile paralysis. From early childhood he appeared to have been of a rather quiet disposition, somewhat of a dreamer and visionary and inclined to be seclusive; submissive rather than aggressive with but little initiative, preferring to play with his brother and sister; often played with dolls and girls. Was sometimes given to mild tantrums. His behavior in school was excellent, but he was not fond of his studies and although very conscientious was a little behind in some of his classes; had, however, a better aptitude for mechanics and music. As he was growing up he did not appear to care for sports, and beyond his bicycle, a temporary interest in military drill and a passion to navigate small boats, he showed but little interest in the usual activities of boys. His occupational history appears negative and he always made a fair industrial adjustment.

In his personality make-up he is described as being of an even, although sensitive disposition; not very expressive of his feelings, but kind and sympathetic; much of a dreamer and not very ambitious, but very honest in all his dealings.

In so far as observed by the family the patient has given but little evidence of very much curiosity in regards to sex matters either in childhood or puberty and adolescence; at the same time it is obvious he began to display sex activities quite early. Since early age he has shown a marked preference for girls' company but was very bashful and painfully shy in their presence, hardly able to express his emotions even when feeling deeply; his aggressiveness seldom going beyond holding the girl's hand and he would not think of making any further advances until given some encouragement to which he would usually respond with a greatly exaggerated emotional reaction; at all times, however, he was little appreciative of the actual situation. Since as early an age as 8 years he has been having numerous love affairs in which his love making was rather at a distance; and the girl in question would often be quite ignorant of the fact that he ever cared for her.

The most serious of all his love affairs was a girl named Iris. He was then 23 years of age. From the day he began to show interest in her he constituted himself a devoted slave to her and her family. One night he returned home much later than usual and he appeared confused, somewhat excited and quite hysterical, all because he met the girl and she wouldn't speak to him. It was several days before he returned to normal. Shortly after she again refused to have anything to do with him. That day when he returned home, his coat, hat, collar and tie were gone. Another time something similar to this happened and he wandered off and was brought back home by some man who found him quite a distance from the house, groaning and crying. One day the family received a message from Providence Hospital that he had been hurt. It developed later that he attempted suicide by trying to jump a freight train. Sometime later he crawled up to Iris' window with an (unloaded) pistol in his hand and when discovered he appeared dazed and quite unable to explain adequately what his idea was in doing this, but it was probably hysterical in nature. To break the affair the family sent him to Pittsburgh where he soon fell in love with another girl and when he met with a refusal, he again attempted to hurt himself. This time the revolver was loaded. Subsequent to this he had a number of other affairs, all ending disastrously and in a somewhat similar fashion.

Of the patient's inner life some significant material has been obtained through dream analysis. Almost all his dreams are more or less stereotyped, running along the same pattern, frankly wish-fulfilling with but little symbolization; distinctly infantile in nature, dramatizing and repeating certain acts of the past. Behind the women in his dreams stands his sister and aunt toward whom he has deep incestuous cravings. Homosexual tendencies are expressed in phantasies about his father, brother and physician; by identifying himself with his father while women (sister) take his place. Masturbation activities, both in direct and masked form (heterosexual, exhibitionistic and frotteur activities) also appear to be conditioned by infantile memories and accompanied by incestuous and homosexual phantasies. The dreams brought out the following essential features: At the age of 8 he had a mutual exhibitionistic episode with a neighboring girl, accompanied by erection and pleasurable feeling. About two years later he had a number of mutual exhibitionistic episodes with his sister; his sister being more on the aggressive, touching and rubbing his organs, this producing an erection and marked feeling of pleasure. The episodes ceased for a while when the sister, conscience-stricken, confessed to the mother; nevertheless, their effect on the patient was very profound and lasted up to date, the craving for the repetition of these conditioning much of his subsequent behavior; the motive appearing in one or another disguised form in his overt actions toward his sister, as well as in his dreams and phantasies in which he would sometimes identify himself with his sister and another person (father) with himself — transition from the incest to the homosexual. At the age of 16 he had another series of episodes with his sister, this time lying with her on the bed, rubbing

up against her, imitating sexual intercourse, the activities being accompanied by marked erection and orgasm and a heightened display of affect. Subsequently prevented from full expression of these incest cravings, he would frequently resort to rubbing up and pressing against her body, the accompanying phantasies taking him back to earlier scenes and episodes with her. Even today he sees her, not as an adult, but as the little girl he knew.

A number of episodes with his aunts also seem to have had considerable influence on him. One aunt in bathing him used to rub his genitals. With another aunt he had a peeping episode when she was taking a bath. He saw her fully exposed and rubbing her legs. The episode excited him a great deal and made a lasting impression on him, being reproduced in phantasy in many of his masturbation activities. This, together with his experiences with his sister was apparently the main contributing factor in his *frotteur* activities which are but masked forms of masturbation. Associations suggest that behind the craving for the sister and the aunt is the incestuous craving for his mother and a strong emotional dependence on her. A number of exhibitionistic dreams are recorded which reveal a constant but unsuccessful struggle on the part of patient to overcome the incest barrier.

An episode, or phantasy, at the age of 4 or 5, was recalled in which the patient saw his father dancing with his aunt, both being nearly naked. Another dream was recorded in which he is rubbing up against his brother or "some man" and wakes up with an emission. Associations here, although meager, revealed distinct homosexual cravings toward his father.

His first masturbation experiences are associated with an old physician who handled the patient's genitals and made him, the patient, touch his, the physician's genitals. Subsequently he masturbated frequently, often excessively, masturbation activities being accompanied (or engendered) by incest phantasies. He had frequent dreams with emissions accompanied by anxiety, because in dreams, the incest phantasies came nearer the surface. Several attempts at heterosexual activities all failed, the failure presumably protecting him from realizing his incestuous cravings. We also find in him complete failure in all his attempts to win a love object, because having played in the past essentially a passive role, he does not care for courting and cannot put forth sufficient aggressiveness for it and further, such success would bring him nearer to realizing his incest cravings, which barrier, again, he cannot pass. His failures to win his love object have resulted, on a number of occasions, in hysterical outbreaks and attempts to harm himself in order to evoke sympathy from others and on other occasions brought to surface, marked expressions of jealousy and attempts to harm his love object — both situations expressing his narcissistic and sadistic tendencies.

We have here thus an individual, who unable, because of strong incestuous fixations and homosexual cravings, to effect an adequate sexual adjustment, sought and found in exhibitionism a new method and a new avenue of escape. The episodes appeared as uncontrollable impulses, completely satisfying in themselves and hence not accompanied or followed by any marked display of other sexual activities. They revealed themselves as almost hallucinatory psychic states during which he regressed to his earlier life, repeating in phantasy the old scenes of exhibition, peeping and rubbing incidents with his sister, aunts, father and mother.

Karpman's second case concerned an adult Negro male, age 40, who, on his mother's death, developed an acute hysterical psychosis with exhibitionism as one of its main manifestations. The man has gone only through a partial analysis. The family background does not appear remarkably abnormal. The father, apparently, had in him something of a psychopathic make-up, while his mother was evidently hysterical. The latter fact is of considerable significance in this case as throwing light on the influence a hysterical mother may have in molding a child's life and personality. Of the early environmental influences which apparently have played a significant role in shaping this man's neurosis, it is important to note the family setting with an unmistakable antagonism toward the father and quite an unusual attachment toward the mother, which expressed itself as a theme on many occasions and suggested quite a typical Oedipus situation. His emotional dependence on his mother was quite remarkable. Highly significant too in this connection is his refusal to have anything to do sexually with women older than himself, because as he says — "the woman is so much like my mother — it would make me think of having intercourse with my mother" — revealing the incestuous nature of his conflict and the moral barrier erected by him against its realization. The dreams suggest the same — trying to reach a forbidden goal against strong moral taboos. Some of the peeping and exhibitionistic episodes he recited (peeping on his aunt) as well as much of his dream content, suggest that as a little boy he was a witness and a silent participant in some bedroom scenes. Apparently, it is these early environmental influences that have in a large measure laid the foundation for future exhibitionistic attacks.

We further find in this case, as a part of early environmental influences, that the boy was much repressed during childhood, particularly as regards sex matters, which fact, however, did not prevent him from giving expression to many sex activities common to all children. Of still greater interest here are to be noted his peeping and exhibitionistic activities which began quite early, his conscious memory going back to his sixth year. The type of peeping episodes most frequently sought after were those associated with urination of women. It is significant, therefore, that in adult life he suffered much with frequent urination caused, as he said, by worries, while his exhibitionistic episodes were most often accompanied by urinating in front of women. (This, incidentally, throws light on the manner in which psychic reactions may clearly express themselves at a physical level as functional disturbances). His pubertal sex activities appear to have been not strikingly different from that of the average boy, perhaps slightly excessive. However, his stated attitude toward women in matters of sex — that they had to be aggressive before he was willing to take up with them — is quite suggestive, if taken at its face value; while his one time interest in obscene pictures, quite in contrast to his ordinary strong resistance against it, may also be of significance. Married life, it may be said, did not bring forth, superficially at least, any obvious sex difficulties or abnormalities, although in this connection his dream material is suggestive.

In studying the nature of this man's exhibitionistic attacks and the manner of their manifestations, one is strikingly impressed by the involuntary, almost organic nature of the reaction, and its volcanic eruptive character. There is no doubt that we are dealing here with a disease in every sense of the word; looked at objectively the whole reaction seemed so foolish and silly that it can hardly be designated as less than a manifestation of a mind diseased. On recovery the man himself would realize not only the wrongness and enormity of the deed, but as well its utter stupidity, and spontaneously speaks of his condition during the attack as abnormal and so totally unlike his normal state, that the whole thing was quite beyond his ordinary understanding and reasoning. Says the patient: "The whole thing seems so stupid of a man whose intentions are good and who is normally sound and respectable. And it would seize me on occasions when my

my thoughts were of the best... I tried to overcome it, but hopelessly. A real criminal does not mind his crime, but I am not a criminal... It would seem to me more plain if I were more passionate but I am not; nor do I know of any weakness that would force me to do it. I was never disappointed in my sexual attempts — always successful... After I would wake up from the attack, I did not feel happy but much worried and apprehensive, because I feared that eventually these attacks would get me into trouble. There was a sense of grief, a feeling of gloom and sadness following the attack. I longed for pity from people — but I trusted not to tell it to any one, so I kept these impulses as a secret. Many a time I got on my knees and cried and prayed for forgiveness."

As regards the onset of the disease itself, we note first that it was acutely precipitated while he was overseas; nevertheless, while the emotional states incident upon warfare and battlefield, might have acted as secondary contributing factors, coloring and obscuring the primary reactions, it was fundamentally not a war neurosis. In the light of the material available, incomplete though it may be in some respects, there can hardly be any doubt that his mother's death was the one acute precipitating factor in the situation. This is evident both from various data available as well as the inherent nature of the case, which is so highly tinged emotionally when the question of his mother is touched... "When mother was living I was closer to her than anybody... I always had great confidence in her and would never do anything to hurt her." What particularly upset him was that he was not at her bedside when she died... "The death of my mother comes to me strangely — it fills me up, that I was away when she died. It was a shock to me when I learned of her death while in France, did not want to believe it... It took all the life out of me. I lost all interest, wanted to come back... Sometimes I feel I don't want to think that she is dead... She looked forward to my returning... and expressed a desire to see me before her death." On receiving news of his mother's death he developed a severe anxiety state, and so acute were his feelings that he heard his mother's voice calling him; and significantly there were no other auditory hallucinations; nor had he ever hallucinated before. Since then there has been a definite change in his personality and behavior with growing seclusiveness, irritability, states of depression and mild paranoid projections and confusional states, most of which are easily seen to be the usual concomitants of the exhibitionistic attacks, although some bespeak a deeper reaction.

As to the attacks proper, in duration they would last a few seconds, the impulse leaving him almost as it seized him; or again it would apparently hold him sometimes for days in succession. The onset, although occasionally insidious, would, in most instances, be so sudden as to completely overwhelm him. The impulse would grip him all at once, holding sway over him in spite of everything. It would be ushered in and accompanied by a train of nervous symptoms, such as tachycardia, shortness of breath, restlessness and excitement akin to that which follows violent physical exercise; hatred would overtake him and he wanted to curse every woman he met; there was also worry and apprehension coupled with an unbearable fear of some imminent terrible danger hanging over him, and a mental state resembling confusion. His mind seemed to be in an unconscious state, as if steeped in blindness; against his conscious desire to rest and fight the impulse, his power of thinking would be gone and something would lead him on and on with a force which completely held him under control, showing the operation of unconscious drives. The urge to stop before women, open his trousers wide and urinate, or just stand exposed would overcome him. As the woman would look at him a chill would go through him, his muscles would become fixed and wholly oblivious to any of his surroundings, he would gaze and gaze at her quite unable to move, showing what intense truly pathologic emotions accompany the phenomenon of exhibitionism. He would thus stand stupidly before the woman or

women without fear or reflection and then wander aimlessly along the streets in an exposed condition, lost and bewildered. If some one called his attention to his trousers being open, he could never recall when he unbuttoned them; he would just find them wide open. Friends would pass and greet him, he would understand what they said, but he would hardly notice them as he wanted to get away; later, he could not even recall that he saw them — these are the amnesic spells dependent upon his confusional state. He would thus walk for block and blocks until returning to normal. It is interesting to note here that his description, undeniably and sincerely genuine, does not include, as the official records purport, masturbation activities as accompanying the reaction; it is possible that he was unable later to recall all the incidental phenomena, or that he has so deeply repressed it that during the few hours it has not yet come spontaneously to the surface of his consciousness; again, it is possible that masturbation was only resorted to occasionally, and that the main phenomenon accompanying his exhibitions was urination. It is further interesting that there was a particular choice of a victim. He says: "Yet confused as I was I had the power to discriminate between a woman and a child — it had to be a grown woman," (mother surrogate) — showing that the exhibitionist usually seeks a particular setting and a specific constellation to satisfy his particular craving. There seems to be here a discrepancy between the official records which state that he was particularly following a certain woman before whose window he would expose himself, while the patient himself states that when the impulse would come over him, he would expose himself before any woman or women. It is possible that both conditions existed.

Occasionally, as a concomitant of the attack, he would have an almost irresistible urge to swear and curse every woman he met (desecration of the holy); sometimes this alone would take the place of the attack. This can be understood on the basis that cursing and exhibitionism have a common psychogenic root, and both being obscene are therefore to an extent equivalent and interchangeable; again, as we know from the history of other neurotics, this cursing may refer to or symbolize a particular emotional situation. It is interesting to note here, too, that in his lucid periods he would show a heightened emotional reaction toward exhibitionistic tendencies displayed by women in public — undoubtedly a defense against his own exhibitionistic urges, which he constantly has to fight. We may also recall here that at one time he was collecting obscene pictures which, he says, did not excite him sexually, probably deriving satisfaction from phantasies accompanying looking at them. It would also make him feel "terribly angry and blood mad to watch couples loving each other, more madness for the woman than for the man". Here we probably deal with an expression of love and jealousy; the woman to him is a surrogate of the mother and he gets mad that she loves someone else and not him.

Many were also the times and occasions when he would make desperate attempts to fight off the oncoming attack, mainly by going to bed, but he would feel dissatisfied. In most instances, however, the impulse would overtake him in spite of all, his mind would get cloudy and stuporous and he would have to expose himself. Remarkably interesting is the patient's sexual state during these attacks — exposure alone seemed to give him complete and only relief. He does not believe that during the attack he ever had the physical power to perform sexual intercourse. There would be no erection, or even power of erection, and the penis appeared in a normal condition. In fact, he says, there was a certain looseness about his sexual organs which he felt he had to shake off; he would find his hands fumbling there. On coming home after these attacks, he had neither desire nor strength for any relations. Sometimes to escape it, he would indulge in sexual intercourse, but it seemed he was not able to do even that (psychosexual impotence).

Again, in the belief that perhaps abstinence might help his condition, he stopped having intercourse — but this did not change the situation. The lack of craving or ability for normal sex expression for periods preceding, during, and following the attack, points to the fact that symbolically exhibitionism satisfies a craving which is essentially infantile and not adolescent in nature.

We have here, then, an individual with a background of an Oedipus situation and its concomitant narcissistic expressions, numerous peeping and exhibitionistic episodes, conditioned probably by earlier witnessing of bedroom scenes. These are the major factors which, ordinarily, condition the development of exhibitionism as a morbid reaction. As long as his mother was living, he was able successfully to repress his antisocial incestuous cravings. Her death, the loss of his one real love object, produced in him a most profound sense of loss, and unable to adjust himself to it, he regressed, repeating in phantasy during the exhibitionistic attack, the early childhood scenes. So strong was the craving in him for reunion with his mother that his phantasies of her assumed a marked hallucinatory expression. He constantly hears her voice calling him as in the days gone by, while the immoral, socially forbidden incestuous cravings which he entertained toward her and acutely brought to surface by her death, were just as constantly before his eyes symbolized in his dreams as a huge snake, which too, was so vivid as to assume a distinct hallucinatory form. Here, as elsewhere, exhibitionism appears essentially as a regressive phenomenon, the patient symbolizing or substituting with the act some vividly remembered childhood scenes of psychosexual nature. These exhibitionistic attacks, being as they are expressions of the patient's psychosexual infantilism, clearly reflect his inability to make an adequate social adjustment because of the moral prohibitions; forever there is in him an unrealizable longing to return to the fold of his mother in the golden days of the never forgotten childhood memories.

Sadger⁽¹³⁾ in discussing the subject speaks of exhibitionism as a major perversion that is often found associated with other perversions. It is a very frequent phenomenon, too, and it is said that it happens to every girl at least once in a life time. In studying the life history of the exhibitionists, thinks Sadger, a definite constitutional element is always to be found — the weakness of the genitals, actual or imaginary. The patient thinks that his penis is undersized and that possessing such an inferior organ precludes a healthy and normal sexual life. The maternal influence in checking and repressing normal sexual outlets, is frequently another factor; and this may be aggravated if she further concentrates her affections on him, making him feel that he is her sweetheart, leading to psychic impotence, homosexuality and exhibitionism; there is occasioned

thereby a regression into infantilism in which state the uncovering is equivalent to physiologic sexual intercourse with the mother via unmasking and exhibition. It may be added here that it is not at all rare to find several members of the same family showing marked exhibitionistic tendencies, no doubt because of like environmental situations.

Sadger asks now — what is the reason for the preferential unmasking of the exhibitionist before small children, somewhat less before full grown women, seldom before boys and least of all before adult men? Exhibition before adult women is understood on the basis of repetition of performance before the youthful mother, just as men represent the position of the father; while exhibition before small children is variously explained because to children everything appears larger than it really is, that the size of the penis is still awe-inspiring to them; again, the age of the victim usually corresponds with the age of the exhibitionist at his most virulent period of exhibitionism. Finally, girls are chosen, because of their sexual responsiveness as well as because the sex of the nursing person came from them; it is the sex in the presence of whom the youthful exhibitionist commenced and continued his practice. The mother — so many exhibitionists will say — has to a certain extent exhibited herself before the suckling in such manner as to leave an indelible impression upon the child's mind, so that when he grows up he merely re-enacts the scene in the presence of the other women.

Exhibitionism in females has been very little discussed, being taken as a natural and normal expression. It is much less frequent than in the male and that in spite of the fact that during childhood the little girls are just as much given to it as the little boys. Sadger believes that the reason for lesser frequency lies in the absence of member; it is known that women exhibitionists concentrate their perversion upon breasts and podex.

Shame, which is so frequent a concomitant of exhibitionism, symbolizes, according to Sadger, successful repression and control, while in prudery the craving toward exhibition is still very lively and active. Again, not infrequently strongly suppressed exhibitionism may lead to the opposite, finickiness, even to frightfulness. For while it is true that the stronger the craving toward exhibition, the greater is the reaction formation against it, it is seldom that the latter force equals that of the exhibitionistic craving and it is rather usual to find alongside the sense of shame, an actively lurking, even virulent form of original craving for exhibitionism.

Sadger cites 7 cases of exhibitionism some of which, however, have only gone through partial analysis. In the instance of the first case, a 21 year old student, we note that side by side with his exhibitionism there has developed in the patient a sickly sense of shame which could be traced to an over prudish mother who, even as a little girl, would pass through the streets with her eyelids fully lowered, keeping to herself and looking neither to the right nor left; while as an adult she was capable of tremendous agitation over too much décolleté or too short skirts. She constantly chaperoned her boy, would not permit or encourage him to see any girls, often cautioning him to beware of the artifices of women. The boy thus grew up with quite an indifference, if not an antipathy, toward women which we recognize as a result of powerful repression and an effort to maintain the love of the mother.

Early recollections bring to mind exhibitionistic activities since the age of 3. He frequently played with his penis quite unembarrassed and enjoyed the sight of his brother's penis. He was an instigator and a participant of childish plays in which all participants were compelled to totally disrobe. At the ages of 10 and 11 years he had marked exhibitionistic and voyeur cravings, frequently exhibiting himself before their servant girls as well as seeking opportunities for peeping in bathing beaches. In contrast to these exhibitionistic activities there is the patient's prudery which strongly suggests the imitation of his mother's reaction. A number of episodes are recorded in which the little boy showed marked reaction towards being undressed by servants; and even at the age of 15 it was painful for him to watch dancing couples. At recruiting it was a terrible thing for him to undress in the presence of so many strangers. It nauseated him to see so many naked men, especially their penis (envy of the inferior). As he grew up he could not look at his brother's penis without nauseating effect and this nausea towards the penis was the issue of a threat his brother made when the patient was 6 years old, to have him castrated, because he exhibited so frequently. The mother too often made similar threats mainly because he was a chronic bedwetter — up to his eleventh year. This fear of castration, as will be seen later, played a prominent role in the development of his exhibitionism. It may further be added that another brother, now deceased, was also given to exhibitionism, which suggests a familial tendency.

Dream associations (robber episodes, white overpowering Indians, mother overpowered by father, etc.) bring to light that during childhood he frequently watched sexual relationship between his parents, reacting toward this with exhibitionism. Until his sixth year the boy slept with his mother and shared the bedroom of his parents until his fifteenth year. It is not surprising, therefore, that although he exhibited himself before father and brother, he did most frequently and particularly enjoy exhibiting himself before his mother which, however, was checked a great deal by the father and anxiety occasioned by castration ideas. He also felt that the father entertained jealousy and castration ideas toward him. There is much evidence to show that the mother was not entirely innocent in the whole situation. Father's business necessitated his frequent absences, she had no one but her little boy on whom she could discharge at least a portion of her sexual cravings. When the patient was 14 to 15 years old, his mother suddenly commenced complaining of violent backaches and ischial cramps. She had the boy rub her back with a certain liniment and that while they had servant maids. Like himself, she is on one hand a complete prude, while on the other, an exhibitionist — the former merely a defense reaction against the latter. Like many other women, her conscious reaction was that of prudishness and extreme chastity to hide a terrible driving unconscious urge toward exhibitionism.

It may finally be added now in this incomplete analysis that at the age of 15 he experienced an eruption of exhibitionism occasioned, as he thought, by the

presence in the house of two little girls, age 2 and 4 years, who frequently innocently exposed themselves. In their company he felt younger than he really was; which was quite in accord with his other activities that were still child-like in nature.

The outstanding features of this case are the early exhibitionistic activities stimulated no doubt partly by his mother and partly by numerous bedroom scenes which the boy had opportunity to witness — in fancy he exhibits himself before his mother, just as his father did. A sense of shame instilled in him by his mother, as a defense against his as her own exhibitionistic activities, together with fear of castration as a punishment for bedwetting, had only further stimulated his urge to exhibit himself.

The second case of Sadger is that of a violinist, age 47, who was an extreme bust-fetishist. Since earliest childhood days nude feminine arms and the feminine podex held a peculiar fascination for him. Once as a child, his mother asleep, he uncovered her podex and imagining that the podex was the equal of her bust he placed his penis on it rubbing the skin. Not infrequently, even when 9 years old, he would take out the breast of the servant maid or the aunt and play with it. As an adult he became a frotteur in order to touch women's breasts or podex. In company of women the relationship would seldom lead to coitus, although on many occasions it came to frantic sucking of the partner's breasts. The rest of the female anatomy hardly concerned him; the larger the breasts were, the more of an appeal the woman made to him. During the analytic hours he frequently referred to his mother as having wonderful breasts and on several occasions he spontaneously remarked that in all his exhibitionistic activities he was conscious of the wish within him to exhibit his penis before his mother.

In the house the little boy had many opportunities to observe exhibitionistic scenes. When he was already 8 or 9 years old, mother was still taking him and her other boy bathing with her and when reproached for this by others, she would say: "They don't know anything yet." There is no doubt, however, that mother's exhibitionistic activities have profoundly influenced the patient's developments. Father too was not particularly careful with his manner of dressing, traveling about the house in his open underwear, urinating without the least thought of the children noticing him. The little boy even saw his father exhibiting his penis before his mother. Father, too, paid particular attention to women's breasts and the little boy did not fail to observe it.

The first expression of exhibitionism in him took place at about the age of 15. "I always had the notion that no woman could resist the sight of my penis. Now I distinctly and clearly see the references to my mother — for that is the manner and reason why she belonged to my father — I merely aped my father." Here it may be added that in appearance the patient is a small, insignificant, unobtrusive puny and weak appearing male and his penis is in a flaccid condition, smaller than that of the average male. Subsequent to his first episode, he had a number of exhibitionistic episodes and alongside this tendency he developed, apparently as a counter or defense reaction, a very marked sense of shame. Thus he would not go into a store that employed saleswomen. An explanation for this attitude is found in one of his dreams. He associates: "The thought comes to me — 'I am unable to do it like others. Before my mind's eyes I appear as a child'."

In his bust-fetishism certain peculiarities stand out which bridge this perversion to his exhibitionism. From the earliest he liked large nipples, he wants them

large and swollen till they resemble the erect, swollen penis — behind his bust-fetishism lurks the desire for a large maternal penis. He attributes his longing for breasts to the idea he was not weaned properly, because it deprived him of the expression of love which he always demanded to a large degree. "Mother always had much — in my exhibition I was always impersonating her. I wish my bride would grab me by my penis and that while this was not erect. And as she stands for mother, my real wish is that mother would get hold of my penis." He often exhibited to himself. "It seems that exhibitionism and I must have grown-up together. I often took my penis in my hands, weighing its gravity and judging its profiles. Repeatedly I beheld and enjoyed the sight of my penis in the mirror — it was fascinating to look at it. Apparently my penis plays a very large role in my life first on account of its daintiness, and as means to get some attention through it, and second, because of the anxiety and fear of it being injured." Of his bust-fetishism he further says: "Father too loved to grab mother around and about the breasts. My play on the violin is the continuation of my phantasy of having intercourse with my mother; the violin is the maternal body, the violin bow my penis"... "After mother has exhibited her beautiful breasts in reciprocity, I exhibited myself, also my penis, as this was the most valuable thing I possessed... I exhibited myself before women because I felt they did not care for me, unless they could see and be fascinated by my penis. More I did not crave — exhibition took the place of intercourse. In life I had more intercourse with my eyes than through the services of the penis."

We have here then as the outstanding etiology of the case a home environment with many bedroom scenes, which constantly stimulated the boy's exhibitionistic cravings. Himself inferior physically, he attempts through exhibition of his penis, which to him is the most beautiful and valuable thing he has (narcissism) to captivate and arrest the woman's attention just as his father, he thought, held the love of his mother through frequent exhibitions. In addition to a strong mother fixation, there is the homosexual component which becomes evident from his fancying himself as taking his mother's place and his penis taking the place of the nipple of her breast; hence his bust-fetishism. The marked sense of shame is obviously a defense reaction against his exhibitionistic cravings.

The third case of Sadger is that of a 28 year old lanky but none the less powerful man who came with symptoms of a cardiac neurosis. He traces his nervousness to masturbation, although the history discloses that it was not the primary factor in his pathology. The onset was precipitated by a change in his employment and when his mother—a widow for years—came to live with him. That the latter situation was a very important factor is significantly observed from the fact that in her immediate presence the attack was not so acute and of late he failed to leave the house. Indeed further studies reveal that the relationship between him and his mother has always been a very intimate one. On their first meeting recently he was overtaken by a terrible excitement, followed by a fear of an ensuing anxiety — wholly unexplainable to him. He recalls: "In my puberty I had the wish that mother should no longer have intercourse with father; the relationship appeared to me as undesired and unauthorized... Later when the subject of my marriage was broached I would be much embarrassed. Mother too, constantly

sought to keep me in her company and by her side and showed marked antagonism toward every woman approaching me."

From as early an age as 4 years the patient had been a silent witness on numerous occasions to sexual relations between his parents, this forming the background upon which many of his later phantasies were built — particularly the wish to take his father's place where mother was concerned. "I fancied that my mother would be the one who would embrace me sexually and from her remarks I figured that she was in agreement with this. Between the age of 15 and 18 years, I dreamt repeatedly that I was having sexual intercourse with mother. She formed the main subject of many of my other fancies, particularly of masturbation."

About a year ago while in a public cafe the idea of masturbating in public occurred to him. Since then the thought would come upon him every few weeks and with such a strength that he would be compelled to leave the place in flight. The impulse to exhibit would particularly overtake him when no one but the proprietrix was present therein and this is of some significance since his mother too ran a tavern. Recalling childhood exhibition episodes which he witnessed in school, the thought came to him later that in such manner one is able to persuade the girl much better to give consent to relations; indeed, he thought that under the circumstances there was no other escape for her but to consent. He always carried within him a feeling of inferiority as regards his penis — he thought that it was too small, worm-like, especially felt so in the presence of his father. When 14 years old he attacked the chamber-maid and when she offered resistance he exhibited himself to her. About two years previous he came home somewhat drunk and danced around the house stark naked. Many of his dreams are distinctly exhibitionistic in nature.

The picture of narcissism forms a prominent part of our patient's neurosis. In his fight against masturbation, he substituted exhibition activities. He would exhibit his penis to himself and not infrequently do that in front of the mirror. Of course, this led only to more masturbation. On several occasions he would allow the girl to masturbate him off.

When he takes a bath the luke-warm water strikes him voluptuously. Until his eighth year mother always bathed him, taking pains to dry his body carefully, which excited the boy a great deal. "Bathing has always been a great event for me. Mother carried a certain cult as regards my skin; she would get into raptures over its beauty repeating that on many occasions." He frequently phantasied masturbating his mother as well as his mother masturbating him. Since he is engaged in regular intercourse, he suffers from syphilophobia which he exploits as an excuse to look at his genitals. Publicly, however, he experiences a marked sense of shame and for a long time would not urinate in the presence of others in spite of marked pressure felt (guilt of masturbation; also mother reprimanding him for that and threatening to cut off his genitals if he did not urinate in private). This dysuria psychica was in a sense familial. Father too often had to stand a long, very long time before the flow of urine commenced.

We thus see in this case quite a typical Oedipus situation with a strong fixation on the mother and marked jealousy toward the father. The mother has more than just ordinarily spoiled the child; she would go into raptures over his body showering it with kisses, caressing his skin in the tenderest manner and thus cultivating in the boy strong narcissistic tendencies; indeed, his exhibitionism is of the narcissistic type — masturbating before some woman behind which stands his mother. The many bedroom scenes which he witnessed as a boy have served to impress upon

him the idea that in exhibitionism one has the best means of getting and holding the love of a woman, in the manner his father, he thought, held the love of his mother; and to one who is so inferior physically — he thought his penis too small, especially as compared with that of his father — exhibitionism offers an additional means of escape. As in many similar cases there is in evidence here a marked sense of shame in public especially when urinating — probably residual of the fear which mother ingrained in him for his former open practices.

The fourth case concerns a 35 year old musician who was the youngest in the family. Until his fourteenth year he was considered an exceptionally beautiful child. He was sexually precocious but was much repressed by his father, who urged him to lead a continent life. For a while he attempted to sublimate his urge into music and to an extent succeeded—a sense of intoxication overtaking him during the play. The desire to exhibit comes upon him most strongly when playing in public. It begins with a feeling of tightness in his abdominal region—the pressing of his trousers irritating the skin — making him unbutton, and quite unconsciously at that, first one, then the other button so as to feel free and loose around the waist. “If I could only concert in nude, I would have been the earth’s greatest concertist. I am sure many artists share that feeling. Liszt turned the monk solely to be able to do without pants — the physical restraint no longer hindered the flight of the spiritual man. I know of one French composer who was able to compose only when completely naked. . . . When I attend any social function I am the neatest dressed; but when I suspect that I might be asked to play at the piano or when giving concerts, then I must wear clothes that do not adhere.” It is clear that his case is the upward tendency of his exhibitionistic urge and affliction, a case of displayed exhibition, centering around his penis. He no longer unmask the penis directly but a somewhat higher somatic portion, which superficially at least, appears not as obscenity but as nervousness.

He is also quite a typical voyeur. “I have the weakness to peep and eavesdrop upon young women while urinating; even the rustling of their clothes while being lifted is sufficient to excite me.” The earliest of such episodes takes him back to his fifth year, when he chanced to observe one of the maids in the house discharging her duties; it made a lasting impression on him and since then he frequently peeped on women urinating.

This case as given offers but little in explanation of the genesis of the perversion in the patient, although one of the usual major factors is present, namely, the strong narcissistic tendencies which were cultivated in him in his early childhood. The accompanying voyeur activities are quite a constant feature in this type of case.

In the next case we have a 24 year old technologist who complains of suffering from periodic paralysis, which, as it is soon learned from the analysis, is a defense reaction against his exhibitionistic tendencies. . . . “I recall that during my early years, we children were allowed to run very freely about the house, that we did not consider nudity as being in any way offensive or immoral. Mother frequently played with us children, especially with the genitals and not infrequently looked after the genitals under all kinds of excuses. I recall that as a child I enjoyed exhibiting my penis before mother. When sensing the approach of moth-

er who used to visit us to see how well we slept, I would uncover myself. After the sixth year I seemed to have changed and became bashful."

His exhibitionism began at 15. His dreams quite characteristically concern with nudity — he walks on the streets wholly naked, dreams of seeing nude women, particularly his aunt, the analysis revealing that behind his aunt stand his sister and behind her his mother. In one of his dreams, a naked girl is having intercourse with a man when the patient enters and tears the woman away from the man. Associations bring out that as a child he once interrupted coitus between his parents. "... I saw nothing besides the deathly countenance of father upon dark background (how his father would look in the funeral casket). ... as a child, when I knew that father and mother were alone in the room, I was much perturbed and tempted to open the door, picturing mother as nude and father as being sexually occupied with her."

We have here then the frequent situation — an unwise mother playing with the genitals of her children cultivating their exhibitionistic and narcissistic tendencies — as being in a large measure responsible for the patient's later activities.

The following 2 cases concern a 21 year old actress and her fiancé. She says in the course of her analysis (lasting only two weeks): "I like very much to go about naked, especially in the morning while washing myself, often permitting the servant to wash me — same as mother used to do. While washing and drying myself I enjoy very much the sight of my reflection in the looking glass — I went so far as to kiss myself, that is, my image and reflection in the mirror. When alone, I have the craving to place my hand on my breast and keep it there — I love the breasts in other women. Even as a small child I enjoyed very much running about in the nude and now I feel not a bit ashamed in the presence of anyone. ... As a little child I was much admired and praised especially by mother for the immaculate snow-whiteness of my body, my symmetric and beautiful build—perhaps that is the origin of my conceit. ... Whenever I ran naked, father would get hold of me and lifting me high above his head, play with me; he was also often present at the time of my bathing — during bathing mother would look at me with fascinated, devouring eyes, voluptuously stroking and caressing my body — she cared for me more than for her other children. ... When I was about 12 years old, mother got into a tantrum when she caught father standing at the foot of my bed, looking at me lovingly, buried in the fascination at the beauty of my nude body. ... As a child I used to keep behind the bushes to see a naked male body, particularly the genitals."

The analysis lasted but two weeks and was unfortunately interrupted at this point. It is obviously a case of narcissistic exhibitionism conditioned in part by the undue attention that was lavished on the patient when she was a little girl.

The case of her fiancé offers a somewhat similar situation. As an adult he never exhibited himself before others; it is exhibiting his genitals to himself that fascinated him most. As a child he was much adored by his relatives for his beautiful little body which was rapturously showered with kisses and freely exhibited before friends and even strangers. He would allow no one to dress or undress him except his mother and in playing with her he would sometimes bury his head between her limbs and crotch which peculiarly enraptured him. Related phantasies bring out his strong psychosexual attachment toward his mother. He further recalls that at an early age he would quite willingly commence pulling down his shirt from the upper body inviting inspection and later on he frequently encouraged his penis to hang from out of his trousers. One episode or series of episodes

he particularly recalls (age not given, but probably near puberty). It was summer and he lived with his folks in a hotel. He observed that in the building opposite lived a beautiful young girl. By careful planning and deliberation, he arranged a series of exhibitionistic scenes before her, so that she could see now only his penis, now his testes or limbs, again only for a moment perhaps, his entire body, arranging too the lights in such a way as to produce the best effects — all in such a manner as to excite the girl's imagination. At first the girl ran from the window, then she apparently succumbed and although she did not look at him openly, her real intentions could be seen from under her lashes. Later, the girl too began undressing herself in a similar manner and it finally led to the establishment of a liaison.

He is more of a voyeur than an exhibitionist. For years the undressing in the presence of a woman with reciprocal undressing on her part held the strangest fascination for him; especially around dusk and in the moonlight when the anatomic defects are less striking and when the whole body is immersed, as if coated, in a liquid pool of silver - sheen; he adores the sight of the shadows the stealthy moonbeams paint upon the tender curves of the nude body. There is nothing he admires so much as a woman's nude body; his exhibitionism is merely a means to get this type of response from a woman. In his fancy, he disrobes every woman. Homosexual tendencies appeared quite early. At 13 years of age, he used to chum with another boy, bathing and sleeping together, not infrequently finding on awakening that in their sleep they were sexually engaged, with the other fellow's upper limbs—"it seems as if I have done that previously too". As a child he was treated and dressed like a girl and was sorry because he was a boy. He recalls too that as a little boy he used to uncover his sister from behind and this he thinks explains why on noting a woman leaning from the window, he instantly pictures himself as stepping behind her and with all her things lifted, sees her nude anus fully exposed.

Here as in the previous case we have excessive love showered upon the little boy by one and all and on many occasions (narcissism) and that he was treated by his family as a little girl only stimulated the development of his homosexual tendencies. It is not surprising that he should have come to feel that his body is very beautiful, from which to exhibitionism is but one step. That there has developed in him a psychosexual fixation on his mother need not surprise us when we learn that she has quite consciously encouraged his eroticism; his voyeur activities are also probably traced to this.

Stekel's first case concerns an artist, age 39, arrested on the charge of exhibiting himself before a little girl, age 10. His heredity, physical condition and personal history appear quite negative. His father married the second time when the patient was about 11 years old, and between the patient and his stepmother there soon developed quite an intimate relationship. It began first with her undressing quite shamelessly naked before him, which excited him a great deal and led to precocious development of his sexuality, and was the starting point of his masturbatory activities. Soon however, with the stepmother in the aggressive, it led to more intimate relations. She would often come to his bed, playing with his member and by practical demonstrations "enlightened" him in sexual matters. It finally reached the stage of sexual intercourse, with the stepmother in the masculine position and the patient succubus. The stepmother evidently knew how to excite

him, and although he entertained moral scruples because of his father, he would yield, the consummation of the act leading to a very powerful orgasm. He became plastic clay in the hands of the artful vamp.

At 14 he left home to work elsewhere and during this time has not sought any affairs with the female sex, although frequently encouraged to do so by his friends. Constantly before him was the picture of the alluring and bewitching stepmother. She now occupied an important, if not predominant, role in his fancies, and he received satisfaction in masturbation phantasying her during the act in the role of his sexual partner. The pictures appearing during these acts of masturbation were always the nude forms and memories of his stepmother when nude. The height of his desires in that period was to again return to the paternal roof and to have intercourse with his charming and seductive stepmother — a wish that occasionally succeeded. Most of the time, however, he was obliged to be satisfied with phantasying, and in his fancies he would often pride himself on his wonderful stature and beauty, because his beautiful stepmother often commended and praised his "Adonis-like" stature and because she would refer to his member as "wonderfully charming and beautiful" — a thing that one must fall in love with.

From 17 to 27 he was in the Army which he left with a perfect record and several decorations, in spite of the tremendous affective load he carried. At 17 we find him still masturbating; exhibitionistic fancies are now playing a prominent role in his phantasies, the patient finding his only escape in masturbation which checks the urge. Although somewhat interested in women, he now makes no attempt at heterosexual relations, so strongly is he conditioned to his stepmother. At this time his father dies and his stepmother soon remarries. The patient's reaction to this was quite remarkable. He became suffused with so much jealousy that he turned completely from women and developed a marked antipathy, nay, hatred toward everything connected with womanhood. More yet, although not given to any overt homosexual acts, he became quite homosexual in his tendencies — his is a lover of the masculine and is much fascinated by the sight of young boys, who now play a role in his masturbation phantasies. He becomes infatuated with a boy who assumed the picture of his own youth, his "reflected picture," while he, the patient, reserved for himself the role of the mother; he enacts the roles in the inverted order. But this is all phantasy; for his inhibitions are still stronger than the urge to live the past again and repeat old scenes. Masturbation serves him as a safety valve against his criminal, socially tabooed instinctive drives. He attempts, however, to fight against masturbation by prolonged periods of abstinence. The first eruption of exhibitionism appeared at the end of two months long abstinence from masturbation; the abstinence ended with a masturbation at home following the act of exhibitionism; in which act again and again, of course, always in a veiled form — the picture of his stepmother was forever recurring.

The homosexual period lasted about two years and gradually gave way to heterosexual promptings. At 20 the heterosexual urge was becoming quite strong in him, but strikingly enough he is attracted only by children between the ages of 8 and 14, especially when he was permitted to behold their naked feet, limbs and their bloomers. The urge overtakes him in the midst of work with such an intensity that he is unable to resist. Then the entire process is consummated in a dream-like condition. Here, he, the man, chose to represent the stepmother, while the small girls represented to him himself, the boy. He identified himself with the mother and the girl with his own infantile image. Identification and differentiation constitute one of the numerous neurotic devices. All homosexuals enact such scenes, wherein they assume the most versatile of roles, and allot at will what role they care to the partner.

Of his psychic state during the act, one gains a good idea from the patient's own words: "I am clearly conscious of the monstrousness of my passion. Because

of it, I am the most unfortunate and miserable person on earth, more so because I know of no medium that would assure me against its reappearance and save me from the torture of the heinous impulse, seeing only one outlet to escape the claws of this life destroying monster, and that is, to throw the remains of this miserable and misspent life into the refuse, to commit suicide. How often I have the best intentions and the strongest determinations never to relapse; yet all the good and commendable resolutions fail when, for instance, on the street I behold a girl of my taste — short dress, stockings, bloomers, etc. Afterwards, I am deadly sick and miserable and feel most acute remorse for my deed. I, as harmless and kind a man as there may be found, with most excellent reputation for character, should stoop to such low deeds. This curse in me is a passion and a disease that has often retarded my progress. The impulse is likely to overtake me anywhere; while at work, I must rise and masturbate to still my turbulent mind, which is brought about mostly by looking at obscene pictures; this occurs almost daily, at least once or twice."

Anamnestically, there is still an important feature to be mentioned. At the age of 9 he was in the company of boys and girls of his own age and one of the girls, 11 years old, suggested undressing naked for the purpose of mutual exhibition of their genitalia. Overcome with shame, he ran away from the scene; nevertheless, he frequently thought of this.

We find then in this case as the outstanding feature the cultivation in the boy by a neurotic and not over prudent stepmother, of strong narcissistic tendencies and remarkably potent incestuous fixations which first condition the development of marked masturbation activities and later lead, in spite of much moral resistance on his part, to actual incest relations, with the boy mainly in the passive. These early experiences have closed for him the road toward normal heterosexual adaptation; later when separated from his love object, he finds one avenue of escape in increased masturbation activities, during which he phantasies himself and his stepmother in the sexual act with mutual exhibition playing the main role in his fancies. The loss of his love object, when his stepmother remarries, checks still more what heterosexual urge there may have lain dormant in him and as a reaction he develops marked homosexual tendencies. He attempts to fight masturbation by prolonged periods of abstinence, which, however, increase his exhibitionistic fancies that can only be stilled through increased masturbation. In an effort to escape this he gives in to actual exhibition before little children, during which act he merely repeats scenes from his own childhood, symbolically playing the role of the mother, while the child symbolizes himself when he was yet a child. For even today he is in love with his stepmother. But she is now quite beyond his reach nor will his moral conscience acknowledge the incestuous cravings, and so the object transfers its seat of activity of a different impulse which is the nearest approach to his fundamental craving. In this activity he is merely reenacting in phantasy the old childhood scenes with his mother; so strong is the tenacity with which

we humans hang on to our first sexual impressions, a true form of psychosexual infantilism.

The second case deals with an urge toward exhibitionism, although not actually carried out in practice. It concerns a 42 year old male who stated that he possessed a violent urge to unmask his penis while in church and at the same time to utter indecent, obscene words. For this reason he avoids every church, which he feels very keenly as he is very religious. He is thoroughly healthy without any marks of degeneration. His mother was an incorrigible dipsomaniac and she always kept a number of lovers. When about 12 years old, he once saw through the keyhole the manner in which his mother received one of her lovers. She was completely undressed and he could see the entire body. The lover, too, undressed himself entirely. The little boy saw through the entire scene with all the accompanying details. Subsequently, a silent participant, he saw a number of such love scenes between his mother and her lover, and it all left so vivid an impression on his mind that it became an inseparable part of his phantasy life. For even as he grew up and although consciously not thinking of it, the horrible scenes of nudity, the picture of his mother loved by other men and all attendant relations, still haunted his imagination, operating as a drive and demanding repetition. Not infrequently he relived these memories and scenes over and over again, wherein at times he enacted and impersonated either the role of the lover or the mother. He therefore had the urge to exhibit himself as well as the urge to get drunk. With superhuman efforts he prevented himself from following these ways. He differentiated himself from his mother, demanding to be something different from her. He loved and hated her at the same time. A mother must be for the child something of a saint and beyond any reproach. There grew now within him the urge to desecrate everything that stood high. His mother's baptismal name was Mary. Thus his mother and the mother of Jesus formed a psychic oneness. He had a period (13 to 15) during which he felt compelled to use blasphemous invectives of which the largest portion centered around the person of the Holy Virgin. It was obviously a shifting of affects, for the invectives were all intended for his mother. However, he succeeded in suppressing even these compulsions. He married and was very good to his wife, yet without the ability to love her passionately. What disturbed him most, however, was his attitude toward his children which had a marked sexual color and it frightened him greatly for it appeared quite clear in the analysis that he wished to do with his children what he expected from his mother. His most marked emotional reaction at the meeting of the never forgotten first scene was jealousy and he craved the place of the lover. He craved to live that scene again. He identified himself with his mother, his children assuming the position of his ownself. It was only the strongly developed ethical barrier that prevented him from carrying out his phantasies into practice.

A psychopathic mother, quite careless in her sexual behavior, allows her little boy to be a witness to numerous "bedroom scenes" between herself and her many lovers. These left so vivid an impression upon his mind that they became an inseparable part of his phantasy life, demanding repetition. As he could only remain a silent and passive participant to these scenes there has engendered in him a spirit of jealousy against the lover, and he constantly craved to be in his place. In his exhibition phantasies he is reliving the early scenes over and over again, enacting now the role of the lover, now the mother, but mostly the latter so

that when he exhibits himself before children he symbolically represents mother while the children represent himself. Alongside with this we also find the patient showing a vehement moral reaction against the clandestine nature of mother's relations and the desecrations of the mother ideal, toward which he reacts with the use of profanity in church (desecration of the holy).

The third case is that of a teacher, 35 years of age, who confesses to be plighted with peculiar hysterical attacks which frighten and torture her because of the urge to divest herself from all clothes and run about the corridors in such a condition. She feels a terrible anxiety that it may once happen to attack her while in the school and thus exhibit herself before those "innocent children." The attacks strike her mostly when dressing or undressing, when the process of unmasking is most easily brought about. Suddenly, she commences to cry and scream, calling out repeatedly, "No, no, no, I won't do it." She runs around the room as if pursued by someone. Then tears her dresses from her body with one hand, while with the other she convulsively clutches the clothes, trying in vain to keep them on her frame. Once undressed she commences to groan and moan. Especially clearly one can hear her say: "Oh, oh, too much." Thereafter she runs naked into the corridor and tries to reach the streets. Ordinarily she can be restrained while still in the room. A short, somewhat sleep-like condition with slight confusion, closes the morbid picture from which she wakes with a complete amnesia about the entire performance. During the attack no striking neurologic features are observed. There are no symptoms of epilepsy, reflexes appear undisturbed with the exceptions of the corneal and the pharyngeal reflexes which are absent; no petechiae, no disturbed sensibility.

Her history discloses some significant features. Her two brothers played an important role in her sexual life. When she was 9 years old, her older brother, then 13 years old, undressed her and although at first resisting, later she submitted to him completely. He performed cunnilingus on her to which he reacted with a powerful orgasm. This was repeated a number of times throughout one year, when her brother left home. When she was 12 years old, her other brother, 14 years old, paid her a visit during the night and this later led to full sexual intercourse. The episode lasted a few months, when conscience stricken she gave it up only to succumb to excessive masturbation which she fought in vain. Her experiences with her brothers, however, remained a driving force in her exhibitionistic and masturbation phantasies. In her masturbation activities she would imitate the movements of her brothers. She would phantasy herself as being again with her brothers, particularly picturing her own nakedness to still the exhibitionistic urge. She was now much interested in the male sex and wished to get married; outwardly, however, she was unapproachable, trusting no man, and suspecting in each a seductor and a Don Juan. In her twenty-fifth year, her brother got married and she reacted to this by a marked increase in her libido. She masturbated during the entire period. On the day of her brother's wedding she was terribly excited, cried much and while undressing herself on the night after the ceremony, it occurred to her that she would masturbate before the mirror. Since then she masturbated before the mirror and the idea would frequently come to her mind: "What would the children say if you would masturbate before them in such a manner?"

Two years have passed. She was in the country where she was visiting her aunt. She slept with her niece (8 years old) in one room. She received the urge to masturbate before the child and to perform thereafter cunnilingus on the child. She waited till the child fell asleep, then masturbated before the mirror while oc-

casional surveying the sleeping child. After that she was overwhelmed with deepest remorse and left for the city, in spite of many entreaties. She was determined to quit masturbation and removed all mirrors from the room, with the exception of a very small one. She was being now courted by a young man with a view of marriage but it did not materialize as the man insisted on premarital relations to which she would not submit. These caused her later many bitter moments. At this time her younger brother returned. The old relations were resumed, sexual intercourse was frequent and they decided to keep house in common. Soon, however, this brother too got married. She considered that a breach of faith; she was terribly jealous of her future sister-in-law. Her yearnings for a home became greater. It was during this period that these attacks appeared in which she only repeated the seduction scenes of her brother, while during the day she forgot the entire series of episodes. With the discontinuance of masturbation, the exhibitionistic urge came to a discharge in an hysterical attack. An analytic treatment effected a rapid genesis. Shortly thereafter she got married and maintains that her exhibitionistic cravings have entirely disappeared.

On a background of incestuous relations with her brothers since the age of 9, the patient's sexuality already quite precocious has now been unduly exaggerated and when later the opportunities for the further continuance of these experiences were gone, she resorted to masturbation practices during which she imitates the practice of her brothers, particularly picturing her own nakedness. Her exhibitionistic attacks give expression to her cravings to masturbate naked before children, herself symbolically taking the place of her brother, while the child takes her own place, and repeating thus in phantasy the early seduction scenes with her brothers.

In another case the patient gave a history of episodes with her father when only 7 years of age. The father repeatedly gave his member into her hand and on one occasion attempted to perform immissio, which, however, was interfered with on account of the acute pain she suffered. She always looked for exhibitionistic acts and developed the urge to roam around the vicinity of pissoirs to observe the men buttoning up their trouser-fronts when leaving the toilets. On returning home she masturbated before a hand mirror with the aid of an artificial phallus which she procured through an advertisement.

The fifth case concerns the instance of O. W., a veterinary surgeon, age 28, who suffers from a number of compulsions, obsessions and phobias. Everything he does, he must do with the greatest completeness and perfection, he cannot make a failure; he will rewrite a letter a dozen times, continually correcting, deleting and erasing it before he feels it is good enough to be sent out; for this reason he always carries in his pocket an eraser, or rather half an eraser. At the same time it bothers him little if the paper on which he writes his letters is soiled and unclean. He also suffers from fear and anxiety that his belongings will be damaged, and the condition of his clothes, the arrangements of his books his collection of insects and beetles, etc., give him much concern.

The patient has a number of peculiarities, most of them relating to his sex life. He always had a habit of dressing very neatly, even loud and conspicuously, so much so that he made the appearance of a great philosopher or artist. He dreamed of becoming a philosopher at one time and it was painful to him to think that he

didn't realize his ambition or fulfill the expectations of his friends. He carries within him an inferiority feeling brought about by the notion that he has a small penis (one-half an eraser).

As a child he frequently urinated in the presence of his nurse, a thing that impressed him immensely. He masturbated from the age of 8 until 17 amidst the most immense forces of resistance. He believes that masturbation hurt him, even to the diminution of his penis. For a period he was addicted to anal masturbation; he also carried out urethral masturbation by inserting in the penis a silken cord hardened in paraffin. He noted every act of masturbation and swore that it was his last time. But all resolutions failed. Not even when he heard that masturbation shortened life did matters improve. Beginning at the age of 17 he took refuge in clandestine relations and prostitution, but kept up his masturbation. He felt disheartened because his nose was so tiny, because he believed that women knew from this that his penis was small and he found that he would never be able to satisfy a woman.

At home he prepared an artificial human, made a vagina of plastic substance, then completed masturbation on the dummy. For a while he loved to provide himself with the blouses of several women and masturbated while smelling the secretion from their armpits. He also admits anilingus and sodomistic phantasies, as well as phantasies with apparently dead, half dead, unconscious and persons who had just died. During the past eight months he had been completely abstinent, a condition which worked no great difficulties on him as there had been a growing loss of libido for some time. However, his potency is still good and he is ready to respond to the appearance of a beautiful woman. He has alternating periods of heightened sexuality and extreme asceticism, but of late the periods of asceticism were getting longer and longer. After coition he complained of all kinds of pain.

Patient had a severe attack of asthma at the age of 5 at the time of the birth of his younger brother and since then has suffered from it for a number of years even to this very day. He traces the appearance and continuance of asthmatic attacks to constipation; when the excreta reach the sigmoid flexure, he has asthma. His asthma is closely related to his anal complex, and he frequently resorted to anal masturbation. When his younger brother was born, he asked his mother how children were born. She told him from the abdominal cavity, but refrained from further comment. He came to believe that children are born through the anal opening and that his asthma originated from there. In asthma he imitates the labor of birth.

He also suffers from a castration complex. As a child the thought that he could eventually lose his genitalia frightened him. As an adult he played with the phantasy that castration would increase his intellectual productivity and precocity; this being his main ambition, the final triumph of his personality; for he heard that through castration, people may and do become precocious. He also phantasies that his castration may be his punishment for a miscarriage of love — the punishment which he intended to carry out on his father. The one-half eraser is the proof of a castrated penis. He also had castration fancies about his father of whom he is jealous. Connected with the castration complex is the fellatio phantasy. As a youth he once refused to have fellatio performed on him which he regretted very much later. Yesterday he allowed a prostitute to perform fellatio on him.

His birth, castration and fellatio phantasies have also reference to the maternal-body fantasy. He confesses now that during the attacks of asthma, but more so during the inhalation of smoking asthma powder, he has spasms and erection of a violence and intensity such as he has never experienced before. His pathogenic phantasy now becomes clear. He dreams himself as being still in the maternal womb in which he maintains such a position that the father in having intercourse

with his mother pushes his penis into the mouth of the patient. Now he has the phantasy of biting off the penis of his father, to have him castrated. The unconscious maternal body phantasy always hurls him from the heights of philosophy to the depths of his urge. His dreams show that he is fixed on his mother.

He has some other peculiarities. He and his father have the habit of picking their nostrils. He has the irresistible inclination to eat the slime of his nostrils, even up to date. Nay, he has not even nausea where his own excreta are concerned; he has already tasted them all; he has even drunk the urine of his sweetheart. He has a "blood complex." He licked his own blood willingly and ate dishes made of blood with great relish. He is a vampire. He has the habit of kissing his sweethearts so long in one place till the blood oozes forth.

Against all members of his family, except his mother, he entertains marked antipathies. He believed that his father maltreated his mother, although she herself made no complaints. Not infrequently he played in phantasy with the idea of exterminating the entire family. He has a veritable "poison complex," having even spent much time and effort in the study of various poisons.

He keeps an account of his expenditures and constantly worries whether he lost something or other. He hates his father because he is so dependent upon him financially, because his father is too conscientious and didn't make the money he could have made. For this reason he is often very miserly to prove to his father that he doesn't misspend the money; then again he suddenly feels compelled to spend unnecessarily and extravagantly. He frequently identified himself with his father.

Always noticed with jealousy that his brothers possessed larger and more fully developed genitalia than himself. His older brother overtops him by almost one foot, a thing that is almost unbearable to him. His entire life is a struggle with his brothers for the love of his parents. When, in his seventeenth year, he discontinued the execution of his ambition, his neurosis broke forth. His elder brother told him he gave up masturbation while he fought the same thing in vain. Contrasting his own sexual failure, the success of his brothers fills his heart with hate and envy.

He likes to ridicule his older brothers whenever possible. The death of his brothers often assumes the form of compulsion, especially when the implied remarks of his brothers make him blind with rage. In his phantasies he sees his brothers blind or dead and buried and he, the patient, attending the funeral. His diary reveals the infinitesimal smallness of the neurotic. The slightest faults of others are converted into the greatest sins. Countless is the number of compulsive notions that appear between dawn and dusk.

He had numerous love affairs between the ages of 6 and 17. At 20 he had an esoteric affair with E, age 13, and he would kiss her passionately at every opportunity. At that time he also had an experience with another girl who came to visit their house and whom he succeeded in deflorating.

When 17 years old he fell in love with a schoolmate of his, a little blond girl, Ilona, age 12. He wished to marry her later, but one thing stood in the way. Although a legitimate child and living with her parents who were legally married, it was rumored around the neighborhood that she was an illegitimate child, for which reason his mother wouldn't allow him to entertain the idea of marriage with Ilona. Impetuously he cut off all relations, a fact which he much regretted later, for he loves her still, even today. The affair appears to have thrown him from the successful paths of life and happiness. In vain did he try to depreciate the extent of his love by rationalizing that Ilona is really not the right party, that she would have been faithless, etc.; his phantasy was constantly going back to Ilona.

On one occasion a friend of his inquired of him if he had an affair with Ilona. The thought excited him so much that it resulted in his first exhibition.

His dream material reveals it clearly. Behind all the girls in his dreams stands this beautiful Ilona whom he gave up because of his mother. He cannot love against the will of his mother. In one guise or another the two women fill the content of his dreams.

He dreams that on the stairs before the window and on the other staircase he exhibits and masturbates in the presence of ladies and young girls who pass there. He does it only if they don't look in his direction; however, he notices that a large number of degenerated persons are beholding him.

Associations with this dream reveal that he suffers from acute exhibitionism. He loves it, especially masturbating at the same time while riding trains, because in such a manner the women whom his train passes are compelled to behold him, hence his masturbation. On one occasion he had already masturbated in public gardens in the presence or the vicinity of women, when he felt sure that he could not be apprehended. When such an opportunity is not available he stations himself behind the curtains, looks and watches the streets and with the approach of a woman masturbates, with resulting great psychic relief. He also exhibited and masturbated in the toilet.

In one of his dreams he is lying on a couch when his mother and a girl come in. He has his pajamas on. As he rises his genitalia become visible to his mother, but not to the girl; the situation affects him none. The dream brings a scene of exhibitionism in the presence of his mother, and merely emphasizes once more that all his exhibitionistic acts are only repetitions of infantile scenes in which he undresses himself before her — while bathing, child-nursing, sick-bed, etc.

In another dream he is looking from below under little girls in the hope that some would be devoid of drawers. The girls, undersanding his intentions, retrace their steps. Then he thinks of exhibitionism and the possibility of doing something with them; however, he refrains from this. Now he is pulling the tresses of Ilona to annoy her — she is once more a child he can play with. One of the women in the dream is Miss R., who represents his own childhood. On one occasion, she exhibited herself before him so that he could see her vulva. Her exhibitionism is a regression to the infantile.

He has not as yet exhibited himself before children although he masturbated at the sight of children. He has a strong love for children. Whenever playing with them he would have erections. He would raise them high above his head in order to behold their vaginas.

The experience with Ilona threw him from the right track. He killed her, his one love, who represented the sum total of his ideal, and who alone, he felt could fulfill all his demands for a future wife. Having given up Ilona he again goes back to his childhood and love for children. In his dreams, Ilona is a child. And he cannot forgive his parents, so once more he lives over his infantile venom against his parents. He revenges himself on them in the shape of his disease. He disturbs his own life to disturb the life of his parents.

The only phase of reality that kept his infantilism in check was his love for Ilona. With the loss of her, the entire world of reality became worthless to him. He retracted himself to the infantile hunting grounds and played with the phantasy scene that he exhibited himself before Ilona. He transformed himself into a child and displayed before her the hidden beauties of his body.

In consequence of the disappointment of that love he regresses to his mother and all infantilism, of which his exhibitionism is an expression.

In this case we are obviously dealing with an extreme neurotic in whom exhibitionism is one of the many manifestations. Of the significant events in his early childhood are to be noted that he frequently uri-

nated in the presence of his nurse, a thing which left a vivid impression on him (exhibitionism). There are further recorded early exhibitionistic episodes in the presence of his mother. Since the age of 8 he has been addicted to a variety of forms of masturbation and this he continued into adult life in spite of many efforts to resist the practice. Quite early too, he developed a feeling of inferiority as regards his genitals which he thought were too small to satisfy a woman; he also thought that he might eventually lose his genitals altogether and this frightened him a good deal (castration). All this, however, is only incidental to the Oedipus situation, which forms the background of his neurosis. He is strongly fixed on his mother, while toward his father he entertains a bitter feeling of jealousy and hatred — in his fancy he castrates, poisons or murders him, just as he does with his brothers, because they have larger genitals (envy of the inferior). He frequently identifies himself with his father and his entire life is a struggle with his brothers for the love of his parents.

An attempt to get married to a very desirable young woman with whom he is in love is frustrated through opposition of his mother — he cannot love against the will of his mother. This appears to have been the precipitating factor in his exhibitionistic attacks which take the form of an urge to masturbate in the presence of women. Prevented from effecting a satisfactory sexual adjustment, he regresses to infantilism, for behind each woman stands his mother before whom he craves to exhibit himself, as he did in his early years.

One of the most interesting cases of exhibitionism on record is that of the great French writer, Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose life has been analyzed in so exhaustive and masterly manner by Stekel.⁽¹⁵⁾

It is remarkable, says Stekel, how frequently infantile features are observed in the lives of the truly great men, in the poets and artists; but more amazing yet is that they not only retain the soul of children, but they possess the sexual life of children as well. Stekel speaks of Rousseau as a typical psychosexual infantilist. Quite usually and commonly, Rousseau, is presented as a masochist and that because he mentions that when whipped by Mlle. Lamercier he experienced his first sexual sensation, since which time up to old age, he always craved the repetition of the situation and its concomitant sensations. Here we see a typical fixation on an infantile scene which then seems to influence and mold his future love-life; indeed, he himself states that he often thought it remarkable that these punishments which he as an 8 year old child received from the hands of a 30 year old woman, should have made such a lasting impression on him as to direct his tendencies in matters of tastes, desires, passions, and beliefs. To his ready inclination to suffer we may ascribe his efforts to become a world reformer.

His mother having died soon after the poet's birth, Mlle. Lamercier enjoyed the position of the mother in the house, exercising the prerogatives of a mother. Long periods of admonishment were always followed by physical punishment,

which, however, much to his surprise, he found less painful than originally anticipated. It made him seek provocations that would lead to the repetition of the punishment; guilty or innocent, he was always glad to take punishment and once when his brother was being punished by his father, Rousseau threw himself between brother and father receiving the punishment instead of his brother. On one occasion he was punished very severely by his brother-in-law on his bare podex; it was the same brother-in-law with whom he once lay in the same bed, fully embracing each other with trembling and convulsive spasms so much that they pretty nearly got strangled. This was distinctly a homosexual display and for many years he could not think of these experiences without an increased and rapid pulse and an animated expression. In the pain inflicted he found a degree of sexual voluptuousness that demanded repetition from the identical hand.

Mlle. Lamercier having finally observed that these chastisements failed to take effect and also that they made her more sensitive, she turned over the matter to her brother. The children, who until now have slept in her room and sometimes even in her bed, were now removed to another room. It seemed, however, that punishment from the hands of her brother were much less effective and certainly less lasting, which merely emphasize once more that only punishments inflicted by beloved persons are reacted to with heightened emotion ("Whomsoever the Gods love, they chastise") while if inflicted by a different person, they are entirely without effect, unless the masochist adds to it some love phantasy. The seat of punishment may become an erogenous zone, as the buttocks have become in the case of J. J. Rousseau.

However, the true beginning of the poet's masochistic tendencies must be traced to his relations with his father, to the love which he entertained and held for his father. Of his brother too he frequently spoke in most endearing and glorying terms and his strong love for both came to expression in the numerous processes of identification and differentiation.

With the death of his mother, the little boy became an object of immense love for the father, to whom he now supplanted the lost wife, and many an evening, they sat and read together (and his passion for reading may be traced to that), the small child and the inconsolable father, both buried in each other's arms, loving and kissing each other fondly. This strengthened his narcissistic tendencies and made him feel that the entire world must love him. ("To be loved by everything was my dearest and most persistent desire"); and in the fact that he was now replacing a woman, we find the beginning of his homosexual tendencies, the feminine phantasy on the part of the male leading to the accentuation of the anus as an erogenous zone. His latent homosexual cravings were concentrated around the person of the father. How devotedly and passionately he loved his father may be seen from the fact that he never forgave his father's second marriage. He considered marriage betrayal of his own great love. He left the house, not desiring ever to return to it, not wishing to see his stepmother, the woman who took away from him his father's great love. When he did once see him it was in an out of the way place where they met each other spending the evening like sweethearts.

He now relates how he was allowed to have free play in everything he did or wanted to do; stole and lied, as occasions presented themselves, even committing such nasty deeds as secretly urinating in the pot of a neighbor woman, yet without remaining essentially a good boy. In these childish pranks we find evidence of his urine sexuality, as well as of his kleptomaniac tendencies — to commit some deed or take something prohibited, in his own hands ("I prefer to take things rather than to give them"). Punishment was merely a further inducement to steal and it is only the woman in him, the forbidden homosexual craving, that stole.

The awakening and development of his sexual urge is beautifully described by the writer. He became restless, preoccupied and full of reveries. He sighed, yearned and cried for the arrival of that something natural which he couldn't

describe. The incensed blood filled his vision with women and girls. By himself he did not know what to do with them and many bizarre thoughts would come to his mind. He became anxious, not daring to contract a love affair, began to feel bashful, and in many ways displaying the passivity which is common to all masochists.

Yet his demands in the realms of love were immense and terrific and in every adventure he sought to feel that he was loved and admired; for since early childhood he has come to believe in the mightiness and charm of his own appearance. This, as we know, is in many instances the root and foundation of exhibitionism. And indeed quite remarkable were Rousseau's exhibitionistic activities. Exhibitionism is always a roundabout, circuitous way to attain sexual gratification and Rousseau craved to expose that part of his body which for him held the greatest erotic fascination, both because that part is believed to be the most beautiful as well as because it is the most desired erogenous zone in the other being; wherein one sees the relation between exhibitionism and homosexuality.

The foremost erogenic zone of Rousseau was his podex. That we already know from the whipping scenes. That this region possessed for him the role of the genitalia is shown by the exhibitionistic acts in the face of ridicule and much to the consternation of the outraged womanhood present. The excitement in him leading to the act would become so high that he had to submit to the urge in spite of all efforts to resist. He states that the stupid satisfaction which was imparted to him by unmasking defied description, further adding that he felt that from exhibitionism to being whipped was only a brief and short step. Indeed, he was even greatly tempted to approach an energetic person with that request, the fulfillment of which would have given him genuine pleasure, only he lacked the courage. Exhibitionism was to him a symbolic expression of a wish for pederasty.

In his craving for flagellation we see once more a homosexual indicator, for behind all these whippings lurks only the remembered pleasure of the whipping administered by his father; in this experience he supplanted the mother or wife to his father — becoming a woman and wife, and for him the father represented the mother; he is forever a child and later transfers his homosexual tendencies on all men. Even his first sweetheart, he called "mother." His exhibitionistic activities have always gravitated toward the males. Of course, his homosexuality was latent; nevertheless, in much of his behavior he remained forever a woman in trousers. Another significant expression of his homosexuality is seen in the fact that a woman in male attire would make a strong impression on him. He was fascinated by many men, often to the point of amorous intoxication, but the fear of homosexuality would forever drive him toward women.

His exhibitionism shows itself clearly in the frank and outspoken manner and the courage with which he wrote his *Confessions*. Behind psychic exhibitionism there is a physical and actual exhibitionism; he wants to conquer with his body as well as with his soul. All creative genius has for its motivation this psychic exhibitionism, the belief in the irresistibility of the ego.

Rousseau repeatedly emphasizes these fluctuations between a man, a woman and a child, between weakness and courage, tenderness and virility, with the invariable predominance of the feminine traits. He never craved to conquer, only to be conquered; he only knew the joys of passivity, just as women and children do; he craved lust without sin, pleasure without guilt. In this passivity, through which progress is much less rapid, he found exquisite means to keep his sexuality clean and unsoiled, for moral chastity was for him far more important than the joys. The genuine masochist derives the greatest pleasures from abstinence which is self imposed, for where phantasy renders enjoyments aplenty, reality becomes unsuitable. Impotence then was self assurance and masochism became for him a safety valve against the temptations and demands of any heterosexual craving. In his love relations he identifies himself with all the beloved persons, but in no in-

stance did any women, however beautiful, elicit in him the desire for possession. He falls in love with a woman, Mme. Epinay, in order to take the place of her lover with whom he identifies himself, his love and intoxication is meant not for her, but for her sweetheart. He didn't consider her lover as a rival, but as a friend. Truly, he had to fight an uncommonly heavy battle — to save himself from himself, he buried himself in the joys of fore-pleasure so that the end-pleasure remained no longer necessary.

How he behaved himself when a woman was aggressive and made approach in his direction is seen in his affairs with many women. He demanded beauty at its highest and placed womanhood on such a high pedestal that she became unattainable for him. The highest he ever cared to reach would be to kiss the hands of a lovely woman; not even sleeping in the same bed with a young girl would induce him to be more aggressive; in fact he found the situation grim and abhorrent and all the arts of the girl were in vain. His masochistic and exhibitionistic phantasies and his strong homosexual tendencies have deteriorated his demand for heterosexual expression. A masculine type of woman exercised great fascination for him, however ugly she was, but it only remained for the artfulness of Mme. Warren to accomplish intercourse. In her presence he was in a state of rapture and intoxication such as he seldom experienced before; but she was much older than he and in his relations with her he had the sensation that he committed incest; for behind her was the picture of his maternal aunt who replaced the mother for him and whom he worshipped as a goddess; forever does he want to remain a child. The first episode was followed by a train of nervous symptoms, a feeling of exhaustion, shortness of breath, depression, etc. Subsequently he proposed to Mme. Warren to live with her in a chaste manner, once more a homosexual expression when the "faithful" friend is more important for him than the "infatuated woman." His inner chastity struggled against sex relations and it manifested itself by marked anxiety attacks as well as his efforts to seek consolation in religion. He displays the characteristics of a typical nervous impotent, and on the verge of sexual intercourse he is overwhelmed with fear of *ejaculatio praecox*.

Of course he masturbated, even up to old age, seeking a solace in the practice, reliving in rich phantasy the original scene, significantly holding that masturbation was less harmful than direct sexual intercourse. Although he was repelled from overt homosexuality, he had mutual masturbation episodes which certainly suggest a strong homosexual component. He desired and craved things as long as they were unattainable and there existed danger to fall.

It is remarkable how every feature of homosexuality is found in Rousseau. Himself a child, Rousseau had a deeply felt aversion toward paternity. The marriage of his father having left a deep impression upon him, he dealt with his own children (were they his own?) as his father dealt with him, driving him from home; he was unable to forget the betrayal of his own love.

From time to time he expressed a number of somatic complaints. One day he arrives at the conclusion that he has a polyp in his heart. He also feels that he has syphilis — the symbol of the unclean and prohibited, incest and homosexuality. He feels that he is soon to die; and we know that every anxiety is an anxiety of death, it is the fear of the wrath of God. Next he becomes obsessed by the idea that he is afflicted with a stone in the bladder, a later expression of his urine complex; treating himself with catheters to attain excitement and sensation, being helped in this by his brother, which gave him once more an opportunity for the expression of his exhibitionistic and masochistic tendencies. All this, of course, was psychogenic for nothing even resembling any pathology was found in his bladder at autopsy. Finally, he developed symptoms and behavior quite suggestive of a paranoid. He became suspicious of things about him. His erstwhile beloved friends became now his enemies. He was jealous and accused them of being intimate with his wife.

We see then in Rousseau a typical neurotic whose whole life was expressive of numerous homosexual difficulties. His strong masochistic tendencies were conditioned in part by the early whipping scenes at the hands of his father and maternal aunt as well as the love relations established between himself and father to whom he has now supplanted his lost wife; he thus remained forever a passive, tender, essentially feminine type of man. This fact was responsible for the development in him of strong homosexual tendencies for later he transfers his father-feelings toward all men; and it has also effectually shut for him the road toward an adequate heterosexual adjustment. There were numerous expressions of his latent homosexuality — abstinence and impotence which are rationalized as sublimed morality, idealization of womanhood, so that the attainment and conquest of the ideal was impossible, the strong and fascinating appeal that a masculine type of woman held for him, especially if she happened to be much older; solitary and mutual masturbation, etc. To his relations with his father who overshadowed the little boy with excessive affection we can further trace Rousseau's strong narcissistic tendencies — throughout his life he constantly craved to be loved and admired. And here too are found the roots of his exhibitionism — psychic and physical — to bare his soul as well as craving to expose that part of his body which, originally the seat of punishment, has now become an erogenous zone — the podex, which fascinated him most in himself and others; he exhibits himself in order that he may be flagellated and thus revive and relive the old scenes of the unforgettable childhood. His exhibitionism was thus one of the many reactions of his neurosis manifested by incestuous cravings, homosexual adaptations, narcissistic and masochistic episodes associated with whipping.

Exhibitionism may sometimes become vicarious and appear in a much disguised form. Stekel⁽¹⁰⁾ cites a case of a veterinary surgeon who suffered from distressing acathisia (inability to sit down) and excruciating pain when attempting to do so. Analysis showed the man to have pronounced homosexual tendencies, who, on seeing his coachman naked, greatly admired his private parts. He thus came to fear any contact with buttocks and neighboring parts, because such contact, by association, aroused the underlying homosexual wishes. Disguised as pain the neurotic symptom yielded a certain secret gratification; it enabled the patient to concentrate his thoughts on the erogenous zone, and anal region; it made daily exposure of the parts before physicians and bath attendants necessary, thus affording him opportunities or gratifying his masked exhibitionistic tendencies.

Exhibitionism may also manifest itself through some skin disease. Rank⁽¹²⁾ states that certain skin diseases, especially urticaria, may appear sometimes (as in the case of Goethe's sister, Cornelia, who suffered from

urticaria before every ball whenever she had to wear a low dress) as an hysterical symptomatic substitute for the referred exhibitionistic tendency. Jelliffe and Evans⁽⁷⁾ report the case of a young woman with strong incestuous fixations in whom psoriasis was traced to a psychogenic origin. She derived a great deal of sexual satisfaction from the frequent examinations which the physicians made of her vulva for boils; and found a sympathetic attitude on their part when showing them her psoriasis.

It is perhaps better to speak more guardedly of such instances and merely note that psoriasis, or urticaria and some other skin diseases have a nervous component, poorly defined by the skin specialist, and that, given a skin disease, the neurotic patient may press it into service as it were, as a fore pleasure and use it exhibitionistically, which, of course, may aggravate the condition.

Stekel⁽¹⁷⁾ cites the case of a boy of 13 who became ill, following an appendicitis operation, with eczema of the penis. The eczema was extraordinarily stubborn and would not yield to treatment. During the day he was constantly being attended by his mother and the boy was well behaved. At night, however, when all went to bed, he would begin to cry for his mother, saying; "It itches so that I can't stand it!" "I must scratch myself!" "Scratch" was a terrifying word to the mother; she was afraid of the eczema getting worse; she would, therefore, begin making for him fomentations of liquor.

The boy got what he wanted. His mother sat beside him. He exposed himself in front of her (exhibitionism) and she occupied herself with his organ for hours. Of course the eczema did not improve. It might further be added that a few objective characteristics of sexual excitement could also be observed. The whole time during the changing of the dressing, his penis made strange movements which resembled a half-erection, the scrotum was in constant movement; from time to time formication, pains and convulsive tics appearing in the thigh. It was obvious that the nerves of the genitals and of the neighboring region were in a state of greatest excitement. This was not the first time that the boy had been under treatment and on a previous occasion a cure was effected only when the mother had been sent away and the boys hands had been tied up during the night.

Reiss (quoted from Stekel⁽¹⁵⁾) cites the case of an itinerant evangelist who in a Christ-like manner and attire, traveled the countries receiving homage as a new prophet. He preached the mortification and subjugation of flesh and to prove that he reached the high state of perfection, he would go to bed with women absolutely naked and with his penis erect, leading also their hands over his genitals — that was the proof indeed that he was in a condition to overcome completely the demands of flesh. The man was impotent and his presumed pride on his newly acquired power of resistance was an expression of his regression to infantilism and exhibitionism. It is noteworthy too that he enjoyed obscene speech which again stands in marked contrast to his ascetic claims.

Exhibitionism often reveals itself as a partial reaction entering as one of the many components of a neurosis and something of its psychopathology may be learned in the course of analytic studies of other cases.

Bousfield,⁽³⁾ discussing the relations between narcissism and exhibitionism on the one hand, and the castration complex on the other, speaks of the castration complex as referring originally to the unconscious fear in the male lest he should lose his potency, or the fear lest potency should never be acquired; and the implied wish that goes with it, that such potency be acquired. In the latter form — the desire to possess the phallus—it is particularly, and almost universally present among civilized women.

In this author's opinion, the castration complex in its various ramifications tends to exert a profound influence on other psychic tendencies. Thus, in individuals having a strong narcissistic temperament coupled with marked exhibitionistic tendencies, the presence of the castration complex creates a conflict which acts as an inhibitory and antagonistic force that seeks to counteract and modify the expressions of narcissism and exhibitionism. As a constant reminder of real and fancied inferiority, the castration complex may greatly curb the narcissism, diminish the exhibitionistic tendency and, in both male and female, lead to the development of excessive modesty and shame as a defense reaction to keep the idea of castration well out of mind and sight; while in the instance of the male with no obvious phallic deficiencies, exaggerated exhibitionism may develop as a narcissistic protection to compensate for the unconscious feeling of phallic inferiority and to convince oneself that he had not lost the organs he feared to lose, this serving once more as a means of obtaining a feeling of potency.

Similarly Adler⁽¹⁾ speaks of neurotics tearing their clothes during neurotic attacks as a reaction against modesty which they regard as feminine and to overcome a true feeling of inferiority for curtailed genital organs, all expressing a protest of a masculine nature.

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL

A. *Psychic Mechanisms:* 1. Regression: While the mechanisms disclosed in the various cases examined may differ greatly and present superficial variety, we find that practically all of them possess one common denominator, namely, regression. Exhibitionism is invariably a form of regression, a retreat from the demands of adult sexual life into phantasy and/or symptomatic acts which are connected with a period of childhood. The individual is unconsciously seeking to recreate a childhood situation; to recover a satisfaction which he experienced when he was a child or a satisfaction which he sought as a child, but the fulfillment of which he was denied. The exhibitionist, therefore, insofar as this par-

ticular activity is concerned, is an infantile individual. Otherwise, of course, he may be well educated, capable, efficient, and even highly moral; but with respect to this particular abnormality he is a child and is under the influence of wishes, impressions and emotional reactions which had their origin in his childhood. Even a moment's reflection will convince any one that this is necessarily so; for what possible gratification can a fully developed human adult hope to gain by merely exposing his genitals to other persons, whether the other persons be willing or unwilling witnesses of such silly behavior?

As a regression, exhibitionism is psychogenetically related to other forms of regression, such as sadism, masochism, fetishism, transvestism, etc. Ellis speaks of these as expressions of erotic symbolism; Stekel groups them all under the heading of psychosexual infantilism, and it can be shown that many of these cases display pathology of deep regression; coprophilia, urolagnia, coprolalia, etc.

2. *Other Mechanisms*:—Though regression appears to be the most conspicuous psychic mechanism involved in exhibitionism, other mechanisms are equally apparent. Identification is quite universal and it is interesting in this connection that the identification is not always a direct one; the man in the state of regression, identifies himself with himself when he was a young boy of a certain age; but there may be identification of the man with a little girl. Quite often, along with identification, there is displayed the mechanism of differentiation, as the man (Stekel, 9 year old boy) who identified himself with his stepmother, while the small girl before whom he exhibited himself was identified as a small boy. A like mechanism is observed in Stekel's other case, that of a 9 year old girl. Repetition compulsion may be said to be another mechanism. Quite frequently we find the mechanism of transference at work, as when an individual exposes himself before young girls who represent a transference from the original mother imago. Though one sometimes hears of exhibitionism as a compensation for sexual inferiority, the reviewer has not been able to find it in the literature beyond the statements of the Adlerian school. The castration-complex, however, is evident in many analyzed cases.

B. *Psychogenic Factors*:—1. Trauma:—The psychogenic factors involved in such regressive behavior vary as one might expect, greatly in different cases. One factor which is frequently encountered is what we call psychic trauma.

Peck's case contains an account of an episode which occurred when the patient was only 6 years old. This is what we may truly call psychic trauma; a

sexually-colored episode in childhood which creates such a vivid impression and such profound desire that the individual is unconsciously preoccupied with it throughout his life, and, under favoring conditions, reverts or regresses to it and seeks to approximate it or to duplicate it at a time or place which are obviously "out of tune" with his adult personality. Five years after his graduation from college and two months before the date set for his marriage, he was seized with his first impulse to indulge in exhibitionism — and gave in to it at once.

In another case (Karpman), the patient, at the age of 8, had an episode of mutual exhibitionism with a neighboring girl, accompanied by erection and pleasurable feeling; and about two years later he had a number of similar episodes with his sister. A craving for a repetition of these episodes was found to have conditioned much of the man's subsequent behavior. At the age of 16, he had another series of episodes with this same sister, this time lying with her in the bed, rubbing up against her, and imitating sexual intercourse, these activities being accompanied by marked erection and orgasm and a heightened display of affect. Subsequently prevented from full expression of these incestuous cravings, he would frequently resort to rubbing up and pressing against her body, while his accompanying phantasies took him back to the earlier episodes. With the passing of time, he ceased to think of her as an adult but always as the little girl with whom he had had such exciting contacts. In his own adult life he found himself unable to effect a normal sexual adjustment and became a victim of uncontrollable exhibitionistic impulses.

In the case of another man (Sadger's case) we find that during childhood he frequently watched sexual relationship between his parents and reacted toward this with exhibitionism, frequently exhibiting himself before his father and his brother, and particularly enjoying the act of exhibiting himself before his mother, although this latter activity was checked to a considerable extent by his father, who aroused in him anxiety connected with fears of castration. When he was 15 years old, he felt impelled to exhibit himself before two little girls who were visiting his home, because they often innocently exposed themselves. In reality, however, he was acting out an unconscious phantasy in which he exhibited himself before his mother just as he had seen his father do.

Similarly, in another case of Sadger, "from as early an age as four years the patient had been a silent witness on numerous occasions to sexual relations between his parents," and this formed the background for many of his later phantasies, which involved a wish to take his father's place with his mother. During adolescence he repeatedly dreamed of having sexual intercourse with his mother. At the age of 27 he was suddenly seized with the impulse to masturbate in a public cafe. This impulse was particularly strong when only the female proprietor of the establishment was present. Since his mother also ran a tavern, the identification involved in this impulse is readily apparent.

One of Stekel's cases was that of a 9 year old boy who was in the company of other boys and girls when one girl of 11 suggested that they undress in order to see each other's genitals. He was overcome with shame and ran away, but the scene remained in his memory and he frequently thought about it afterwards. When he was 11, his father remarried, and his stepmother frequently undressed before him, gradually engaged in sexual familiarities with him, and finally progressed to the point of actual intercourse. At the age of 17 he was preoccupied with exhibitionistic phantasies and at the age of 27 he engaged in active exhibitionistic behavior which was consummated in a dream-like condition in which he identified himself with his stepmother while the small girls to whom he exhibited himself were identified with himself as a small boy.

Another one of Stekel's cases deals with a 9 year old girl whose 13 year old brother undressed her and performed cunnilingus on her. This was repeated a

number of times throughout the following year. When she was 12 years old, another brother, who was 14, had complete sexual intercourse with her, and their relationship lasted for several months. Years later she developed hysterical attacks characterized by a desire to masturbate naked before children. In these attacks she symbolically took the place of her brother while the child involved represented herself. Thus she repeated in phantasy the earlier seduction scenes with her brother.

In still another case (Stekel⁽⁴⁾) a female patient gave a history of sexual episodes with her father when she was only 7 years old. Her father repeatedly encouraged her to handle his penis. In this instance she became a voyeur rather than an exhibitionist always looking for exhibitionistic acts by men and roaming about in the vicinity of men's toilets in the hope of seeing them buttoning up their trouser-fronts after urination. She also procured an artificial phallus and masturbated before a mirror, this activity being presumably associated with memories of the childhood scenes with her father.

We are thus made acquainted with the devastating influence and deep psychic injury resulting from sexual episodes in childhood, and in the cases outlined we see clearly the regressive and traumatic factors involved in the exhibitionistic activity of adults.

2. *Religious Conflicts*:—Another psychogenic factor sometimes found in cases of exhibitionism is represented by religious conflicts. At first it may strike one as very strange that religion could have anything to do with cases of this kind; but it must be remembered that religion and sex are often closely connected and that a great variety of sexual anomalies are found to be mixed up with religious ideas. These exhibitionistic cases which are found to have a religious background appear to involve a form of ambivalence in which the exhibitionistic behavior is tantamount to an act of defiance against the moral culture which has heretofore been so carefully observed. This is similar to the situation in which an individual who has always been most circumspect in the use of language, suddenly indulges in an outburst of blasphemy. We are familiar in a general way with the existence of emotional ambivalence in individuals, and we have known of cases in which the emotions of love and hate find alternate expression, the individual suddenly manifesting a deep and unsuspected hatred for someone toward whom he or she has heretofore professed only the deepest love. Of course, the hate has been there unconsciously all the while, but only flared up into conscious expression under the stress of some prolonged emotional conflict. Some of these sudden outbursts of exhibitionism follow the same pattern. The individual has always been modest, even extremely prudish; but under emotional stress the pendulum swings all at once in the opposite direction and he engages in behavior which is altogether foreign to his normal personality. With such people, it would seem as though there were no

such thing as what we call a happy medium; they must always go to extremes and express forcibly and violently either one emotion or the other.

One of Stekel's cases deals with a man who "possessed a violent urge to unmask his penis while in church and at the same time to utter indecent, obscene words." For this reason he avoided church and felt this deprivation keenly because he was actually very religious. Investigation disclosed the fact that his mother had had many lovers, and that as a child he had seen them more than once engaged in sexual intercourse. He developed feelings of ambivalence toward his mother, loving and hating her at the same time. Because it seemed to him that a mother must be something of a saint and above reproach, there grew up within him an urge to desecrate everything that was regarded as holy. His mother's name was Mary and he identified her with the mother of Jesus, and at certain periods felt impelled to use blasphemous invectives which centered around the person of the Holy Virgin. The religious conflict in this case was, of course, supplemental to the emotional conflict involving his mother.

The wife of the missionary (Peck's case) reported that in his daily prayers he asked in a tremendously earnest manner for the forgiveness of his sins; but it was also observed that his attitude toward his exhibitionistic behavior indicated that he gloried in it rather than being ashamed of it. The attacks during which he succumbed to exhibitionistic temptation represented, therefore, a complete defiance of his chosen religious profession.

In another case, (Karpman⁽²⁾) the patient says that following an urge to indulge in exhibitionism, "many a time I got on my knees and cried and prayed for forgiveness." This man also, as a concomitant of the attack, would occasionally have an irresistible urge to curse every woman he met. Cursing and exhibitionism have a common psychogenic root; both are obscene and, therefore to a certain extent, equivalent and interchangeable. This man referred to himself as one "whose intentions are good and who is morally sound and respectable," and said that the exhibitionistic impulse would seize him on occasions when his thoughts were of the best. In this case the man's anomaly followed the death of his mother, and it is not impossible that, to a certain extent at least, his attacks represented defiance of the Power which had taken from him the one being whom he cherished most.

In all of these cases religious conflicts appear to be secondary rather than primary psychogenic factors, but they play their part in the supporting cast of contributing causes to the exhibitionistic drive. } II

3. *Incest*:—A factor of psychogenic importance which cannot be denied is that of incest. This is evident from what has been said about psychic traumata, for a number of psychic traumata involved incestuous situations. Unconscious incestuous desires lie at the root of more than one sexual aberration, and we should not be surprised, therefore, to find that it is also responsible in some cases for the development of a compulsive urge toward exhibitionism.

In one of the cases already mentioned (Karpman⁽¹⁾) the patient, at the age of 10, had a number of mutual exhibitionistic episodes with his sister, who manipulated his penis, producing erection and a strong feeling of pleasure; and at the

age of 16 he had another series of episodes with this same sister, during which he imitated sexual intercourse and achieved orgasm. Associations to his dreams also suggested that behind his craving for his sister there lay an unconscious incestuous attachment to his mother. In this particular case, the incestuous fixation completely defeated all subsequent attempts to achieve a normal sexual adjustment, and exhibitionistic activity became a substitute for normal sexual relations.

In another case (Sadger⁽¹⁾) the patient as a child engaged in certain sexual familiarities with his mother while she slept; and when he was as far advanced as the age of 8 or 9, his mother would still take him bathing with her. He also saw his father exhibiting his penis before his mother; and during analysis he admitted that in all his exhibitionistic activities he was conscious of an inner wish to be able to exhibit his own penis before his mother. In the face of such circumstances, it is not surprising that he developed a strong mother fixation with semiconscious incestuous wishes. In this case also there was a complete failure of normal sexual adjustment, and he tells us that for him "exhibition took the place of intercourse."

In the case already mentioned (Sadger) in which the patient felt impelled to exhibit himself before the female proprietor of a public cafe, whom he identified with his mother, who also ran a tavern, is likewise predicated in incestuous phantasies. In this case, as in many others, psychic trauma and incestuous desires go hand in hand, the one being the cause of the other. The bedroom scenes which this patient witnessed as a child inculcated in him the idea that in exhibitionism one has the best means of getting and holding the love of a woman, because that was, he thought, the manner in which his father held the love of his mother; and with his memories of these early scenes between his parents, there developed the wish to take his father's place, so that here we have incest as a thing desired, if not as an actual occurrence.

In the first case reported by Stekel, on the other hand, we find a history of actual incestuous relations between the patient and his stepmother. In the case of the female school teacher (also reported by Stekel) we have a history of incestuous relations with two brothers, the memory of which remained a driving force in her exhibitionistic and masturbatory phantasies. And in still another case we have an account of a father's attempted incestuous relations with his daughter when she was only 7 years old. In both of these cases psychic trauma and incest are inextricably bound together, for the incestuous experiences were psychic traumas.

4. *Homosexuality*:—Another psychogenic factor found in some of these cases is homosexuality. Now exhibitionism is by no means common to homosexuals as a class, and one should not get the idea that homosexuality and exhibitionism are necessarily connected; but in some of the cases which are being considered for the purpose of this discussion of exhibitionism, it will be seen that homosexual inclinations play a part in the development of the exhibitionistic behavior. Homosexuality may be either an arrested development or a regression, and in either case it may involve exhibitionistic features if there have been preceding vivid mental impressions associated with exhibitionistic episodes.

In the case reported by Peck it was found that the patient had homosexual dreams and phantasies, but the material is too incomplete to show us precisely what relations these had to his exhibitionism.

In one case reported by Karpman there was great homosexual involvement. The patient had homosexual phantasies concerning his father, his brother, and his

physician. He records one dream of physical contact with his brother or "some man," and awoke with an emission. From the age of 4 or 5 he recalls an episode, which may have been a phantasy, in which he saw his father dancing with his aunt, both of them nearly naked. His first masturbatory experiences were associated with an old physician, who handled his genitals and made the patient touch the physician's genitals also. In this particular case exhibitionistic activity developed as an escape from both incest and homosexuality.

In another case (Sadger) there was a definite homosexual involvement at the age of 13 with a boy with whom the patient bathed and slept. In Stekel's first case, while there were no homosexual acts, the patient became fascinated by the sight of young boys, who played a role in his masturbatory phantasies. In both of these cases homosexual ideas were the outgrowth of strong narcissistic tendencies which had been encouraged in each instance by the patient's mother. The second patient also sought to escape in homosexual phantasies from the realization that he had lost the love of his stepmother, with whom he had formerly had incestuous relations but who later remarried and went away. In still another case (Stekel's account of Rousseau) the patient, whose mother died when he was a little boy, became the object of immoderate love by his father on whom he developed a homosexual fixation. In this case, indeed, exhibitionism became for him a symbolic expression of the wish for passive pederasty, and his exhibitionistic activities always gravitated toward males. Actually his homosexuality was latent, and while he was fascinated by many men, often to the point of amorous intoxication, his fear of homosexuality would drive him toward women, with whom, however, his relations were essentially passive and masochistic. He fell in love with one woman in order to take the place of her love, with whom he identified himself, and his love was really not directed toward her but toward the other man.

We thus see that while homosexuality is not usually a primary factor in cases of exhibitionism, nevertheless many such cases show homosexual histories of varying degree, homosexuality usually being associated with the development of narcissistic and/or masochistic tendencies, both of which frequently lead to a preoccupation with exhibitionistic desires; for if one loves one's own body, he naturally thinks of exhibiting it to others; and if he craves chastisement of his body, such an idea necessarily involves the thought of exposing it to others for that purpose.

5. *Masochism and Sadism*.—A masochistic trend is one of the outstanding features in the personality make-up of many exhibitionists, for they are essentially passive and do not so much think of loving as of being loved. To them, passivity and even suffering are an indication of love. They enjoy humiliation and some of them enjoy pain.

In the case recorded by Peck, the outstanding childhood memory was associated with the action of the older girl who more or less forcibly took down the patient's trousers; and his subsequent make-up and behavior gave many indications of a predominating masochistic tendency. In the Stekel case in which the boy had actual incestuous relations with his stepmother, we are told that she was the aggressor and that in their relations she assumed the masculine position; while in the case of the philosopher (Stekel's account of Rousseau) we learn that his major childhood experiences were those in which he received punishment — first

from his father, then from his governess, and once from his brother. His homosexual fixation on his father assumed a definitely masochistic character. It appears that his subsequent exhibitionistic activity was really an invitation to punishment and that if following such activity he could have been whipped, it would have fulfilled his erotic desire.

On the other hand, clearly sadistic trends are evident in the desire to shock and humiliate the victim.

6. *Narcissism*:—Another outstanding element in the personality make-up of the average exhibitionist is narcissism. This is perhaps even more generally prominent than masochism, and — as some of the cases examined clearly show — is frequently developed by the mother of the patient, who showers him with so much love that his love for himself becomes greatly exaggerated. In several of these cases the foolish mother expressed open admiration for the physical beauties of her son's body. In some cases we find unmistakable evidence of "penis narcissism," a reaction so frequently observed in cases of homosexuality. In other cases, however, we find cases of penis inferiority.

This was particularly true in the case of the boy who had incestuous relations with his stepmother (Stekel), for we are told that she often "praised his 'Adonis-like' stature" and that she would also refer to his member as "wonderfully charming and beautiful — a thing that one must fall in love with." Masturbation before a mirror occurs in several of these cases. The female school teacher, whose brothers had had intercourse with her (Stekel⁽³⁾), first masturbated in front of a mirror, and then progressed to the point of exhibiting herself before children, imagining herself in the place of her brothers while the children took her own place. The transition from narcissism to exhibitionism is comparatively easy to understand, for if one becomes obsessed with the idea of the attractiveness of one's own body, it is more or less logical for him to develop the idea that others would be interested in it also.

As an example of mother influence in the development of narcissism, we have this statement from another patient (Sadger): "As a little child I was much admired and praised, especially by Mother, for the immaculate snow-whiteness of my body, my symmetrical and beautiful build. Perhaps that is the origin of my conceit. Whenever I ran naked, Father would get hold of me, and, lifting me high above his head, would play with me. He was also often present at the time of my bathing. During bathing Mother would look at me with fascinated, devouring eyes, voluptuously stroking and caressing my body."

Perhaps, even from these few examples, one would be disposed to agree that a large percentage of neurotic ills are directly traceable to the criminal stupidity of foolish parents.

7. *Passivity*:—Passivity is, as already noted, a predominant factor of the personality make-up of the exhibitionist. The behavior of these individuals is not aggressive, as many people mistakenly suppose, but passive. While their method of approach appears superficially to be ag-

gressive, their psychological motives, whether related to reality or phantasy, are to excite others to action. We must remember always that their behavior represents a regression to a period of childhood; and the episodes of that childhood period were almost invariably those in which the individual submitted to the aggression of someone else. Their phantasies are almost always concerned with a reenactment of those childhood episodes in which they played passive roles. One might almost say, therefore, that in their sexual development they have become conditioned to passivity.

8. *Organ Inferiority*:—Adler is of the opinion that "organic inferiority" lies at the root of exhibitionism; that all of these individuals have some physical defect or strong inferiority feeling — are timid, shy, feel depreciated and unjustly treated by their comrades, etc., — and that exhibitionism has developed in them as a defiance of all inhibition, and represents a compensation of sexual boldness for an unmanly sense of shame. While this theory may be partially applicable to some of the cases we have discussed, and perhaps wholly applicable to some others, we have seen enough, it seems, to indicate that far deeper factors than a sense of inferiority usually enter into exhibitionistic behavior. The ideas of arrested sexual development and/or regression which we have emphasized in this discussion belong, of course, to the school of psychoanalytic therapy.

C. *Sex Life*:—With respect to the sex life of these individuals there isn't much to be said that has not already been indicated by the discussion of preceding topics. Their sex life, like that of any other psychoneurotic, is, of course, abortive. They are sexual cripples who either have never reached complete sexual development, or who, for one cause or another, have regressed to an infantile level. Let us review the cases which have formed the basis of this discussion.

The first is that of the missionary (Peck). He married, but his marriage represented a social rather than a psychosexual adjustment, and practically all of his exhibitionistic attacks occurred thereafter. He himself commented on his lack of erotic feeling during his first engagement, which was broken off at the girl's request. His second engagement took place while he was occupied with his missionary duties, and two months before the date set for his marriage he had his first exhibitionistic attack, indicating that the contemplation of marriage occasioned considerable emotional conflict.

In the second case (Karpman) there was complete failure of all the patient's attempts to win a love object because he was so conditioned to passivity that he could not exercise sufficient aggression to achieve conquest. His sex life consisted of masturbation and exhibitionism. In the third case (Karpman) the patient appears to have made several attempts at sexual intercourse in an effort to overcome

his exhibitionistic impulses; but he was invariably impotent. In this case masturbatory activity was infrequent, but during his exhibitionistic attacks he would urinate.

The fourth case (Sadger⁽¹⁾) grew up with an indifference toward women which amounted almost to antipathy. In this case the patient had indulged in exhibitionistic activities since the age of 3. In the fifth case (Sadger⁽²⁾) the patient's sexual relations with women were limited to manipulating and sucking their breasts; his masturbatory phantasies were almost exclusively concerned with his bust-fetishism. When he played the violin, he phantasied having sexual relations with his mother. He is the one who said that with him exhibitionism took the place of intercourse. The sixth case (Sadger⁽³⁾) is that of the young man who exhibited himself to the cafe proprietor. Apart from exhibitionism, his sex activities were confined to masturbation, although he had some episodes with girls in which they masturbated him instead of his having intercourse with them. In the seventh case (Sadger⁽⁴⁾) which is also that of a musician, we are not told anything about his actual sex behavior, but it appears to have been confined to exhibitionistic and voyeuristic activities. The eighth case (Sadger⁽⁵⁾) is that of the technologist, whose exhibitionism began when he was 15 years old. He apparently had no normal sexual relations. The next 2 cases (Sadger⁽⁶⁾ (7)) concern the actress and her fiance who were both exhibitionistic and voyeuristic, while the latter betrayed considerable homosexual involvement. We are without information as to whether or not either one was capable of adult sexual relations.

The eleventh case (Stekel⁽¹⁾) is that of the boy who had incestuous relations with his stepmother. His early experiences closed for him the road to normal sexual adaptation, and his adult activity was confined to masturbation and exhibitionism. In the next case (Stekel⁽²⁾) the man succeeded in repressing his exhibitionistic temptations. He married and was very good to his wife, but remained "without the ability to love her passionately." The next case (Stekel⁽³⁾) is that of the female school teacher who had been seduced by both her brothers. Following analytic treatment, she was able to marry and her exhibitionistic cravings disappeared. In the case of the girl who had sexual intimacies with her father at the age of 7 (Stekel⁽⁴⁾) we are not told of her ultimate development, but it appears that her sexual activity was confined to masturbation. The fifteenth case is that of the veterinary surgeon (Stekel⁽⁵⁾). He had relations with prostitutes but could not thereby overcome masturbation. He manufactured for himself a female figure with a vagina of some plastic substance on which he practiced masturbation. He had phantasies of anilingus, and also sodomistic and necrophilic phantasies, as well as fellatio and womb phantasies. After coition he complained of various pains. His attempt to marry was frustrated by the objections of his mother, after which he regressed to exhibitionistic activities.

The philosopher never married; had complete sexual relations with only one woman (who reminded him of his mother) and masturbated even up to old age. His masochistic and homosexual tendencies effectively shut for him the road to an adequate heterosexual adjustment.

Thus the admittedly incomplete data on 16 cases disclose only three marriages, of which only one was successful, and the success of that one was due to psychoanalytic treatment. In 5 cases there were heterosexual relations, but these were either unsatisfactory or confined to paraphiliac activities which did not progress to normal coitus. In the remaining cases there was no heterosexual adjustment. In most, if not all cases, masturbation is an important factor.

D. *Dream Life*:—The dream life of these unfortunate people is for the most part like their phantasies and like their abortive activity. One might almost say that their activity has evolved out of their dreams and their phantasies. During adolescence we find repeated accounts of dreams of nakedness, accompanied in many instances with considerable anxiety. Homosexual dreams and phantasies are common to many cases because, as we have seen, homosexuality is frequently a psychogenic factor in the development of exhibitionism.

The missionary had numerous exhibition dreams, which were always accompanied by marked anxiety, and also had many homosexual dreams and phantasies. The dreams of another patient were frankly wish-fulfilling, but with little symbolization, distinctly infantile in character, dramatizing and repeating various episodes of the past. He had frequent emission dreams of an incestuous nature, accompanied by anxiety. The man who felt impelled to exhibit himself to the female cafe proprietor — who stood in the place of his mother — had numerous exhibitionistic dreams. The veterinary surgeon dreamed of exhibiting himself and masturbating before women and young girls. Behind all the girls in his dreams stood the one whom he gave up because of the objections raised by his mother; but in many of these dreams she appeared as a child whom he could play with. Other women in his dreams were also associated with his childhood; for his exhibitionism represented a regression to childhood following his disappointment in love, and was an expression of infantilism; and this fact was repeatedly demonstrated by the regressive character of his dreams.

E. *Phantasies*:—The foregoing résumé of the recorded cases also shows us the character of the patient's phantasies and their relation to paraphiliac behavior. In addition to the exhibitionistic phantasies themselves, we have homosexual phantasies, necrophiliac phantasies, womb phantasies, phantasies involving fetishism or partialism (women's clothes, women's breasts), sado-masochistic phantasies, phantasies of fellatio, breast-sucking phantasies, etc. In almost no case is the phantasy life concerned with normal sexual relations. Even when the phantasies are heterosexual in character, they involve preliminary sexual activities which stop far short of actual intercourse.

F. *Precipitating Factors*:—There remains a word or two to be said about precipitating factors in exhibitionism.

In the case of the Negro man with an acute hysterical psychosis—the one whose exhibitionistic acts were carried out in a semiconscious state during which he urinated rather than masturbated—the precipitating factor was his mother's death. He received the news of this while he was in France during the war, and his subsequent mental disturbance was regarded by some observers as a war neurosis; but it seems reasonably clear that emotional states incident to warfare were only secondary contributions and that if he could have looked forward to being reunited with his mother upon his return from overseas, the resulting personality change

would not have occurred, but he would have been able to stand up under war conditions, as indeed he had up to that point.

In the case of the veterinary surgeon, the precipitating factor was unquestionably his mother's opposition to his marriage to his childhood sweetheart, and it was from that point that he regressed to exhibitionistic activity. In the case of the missionary, we might be disposed to suspect that the emotional conflict centering around his marriage was the precipitating factor in the development of his exhibitionistic impulses.

We see, therefore, that in exhibitionism, as in other forms of mental and/or emotional maladjustment, there are some cases in which specific events, frustrations or conflicts precipitate the regression to this infantile level; while in other cases such regression appears to be more or less predetermined by early childhood experiences (psychic traumas) and represents the form of activity to which we would inevitably expect the patient to return, in the light of his childhood history.

In the cases examined, we have seen also that the only cures effected were those achieved by intensive psychoanalysis. In some of the recorded cases the analysis was interrupted and we do not know how much good it did or how the patient ultimately developed; but in those cases where the analysis was carried through to the end, recovery was complete and exhibitionistic impulses were effectively and permanently outlawed.

G. *Distribution*:—No class, group or social strata is immune from exhibitionism. The phenomenon is as universal as neuroses in general. In some of the cases examined we find that the individuals involved were, respectively, a missionary (who was a college graduate); a musician; a technologist; an actress; an artist; a teacher; a veterinary surgeon; and evangelist; and an internationally known philosopher. It may readily be seen, therefore, that in considering this sexual abnormality, we are not dealing with mentally undeveloped persons, whom we might describe as morons or mental defectives, but rather with emotionally undeveloped persons, or with persons whose emotional development has, as it were, gone into reverse, persons who have regressed to an earlier emotional level; who have unconsciously reverted to the emotional preoccupations of childhood. It affects men with much greater frequency than women.

H. *Types*:—Maeder mentions several types of exhibitionism which he believes have differing clinical aspects and differing etiologies. He speaks of one type belonging to cases of senility, paralysis, etc., which type, in his opinion, involves three factors: intensity of libido; dementia (disintegration of inhibitions); and infantilism. He thinks that the main point is impotence, while the outstanding reaction is that of regression;

that the individuals in these cases seek to compensate for sexual inferiority by the display of their genitals, hoping in this manner to attract attention and thus produce a state of sexual excitement. Another type is represented by children, with whom the situation is quite different. With them exhibitionism is a sexual activity in and of itself, with no other aim, because their sexual development is incomplete and there is no organic possibility of the expression of any well defined activity. He also mentions two types of exhibitionism, both associated with epilepsy; one in which the exhibitionistic display is a part of the epileptic attack itself; and another which is postepileptic in character, the display being carried out intentionally; and in this connection he mentions patients who obstinately remain naked for hours or days following an epileptic attack. It would appear, however, that either psychosexual infantilism or regression is involved in all of the types of exhibitionism which he describes.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Exhibitionism represents a regression to an earlier, infantile stage of sexual development. The mental content, the psychologic mechanisms involved and the constituent factors that contribute to its expression, do not appear to be in any wise different from those found in other neuroses beyond the fact that the individual had been arrested at an earlier level of psychosexual development; a particular type of fore pleasure activity has displaced the normal adult activity and is symbolized by the exhibitionistic activity. Treated as a neurosis, it responds to psychotherapy, particularly psychoanalysis.

1801 EYE STREET, N. W.

REHABILITATION OF THE OLDER PRISONER

HARRY L. FREEDMAN, M.S., M.D., F.A.P.A.*

*Psychiatrist-in-Charge**Clinton Prison Classification Clinic**Dannemora, N. Y.*

The rehabilitation of the thousands who are already in prison, and the preparation for the more adequate handling of the thousands who each year go there, are becoming more and more important. There is general agreement of the doctrine that commitment is not alone "an eye for an eye" but, must rather exert a positive influence towards the social reclamation of the individual.

There are many who ridicule the efforts of intelligent and public minded citizens — whether officially connected with the prison system or not — who are advocating rehabilitative and mental hygiene programs in the prisons, as being impractical. The answer is, clearly, that the cost of such a program will be far less than the continued and recurring expenditures for our legal penal machinery. If we are unwilling to pay for rehabilitation, we must be ready to pay for the crimes, the convictions, and the social waste of the recidivist. A decision must be made as to whether we are to spend our money in ways which have already proved expensive as well as comparatively unsuccessful, or in attempts—even experiments — aimed at the rehabilitation of the prisoner.

There is nothing Utopian about the belief that a good percentage of our prisoners can become self-respecting and socially valuable citizens. Even now numbers of first offenders are never resentenced. Are we to consider the others so very different from them? Certainly not, or our legal system would long since have rejected this belief. Is it not, rather, that the social maladjustment which found expression in the first crime was amenable to the corrective influence normally operative in the prison? It may be that in some instances fear of the prison

* Dr. Freedman, a Fellow of the American Psychiatric Association and an elected member of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene has had many years experience in the field of penology. While on military leave of absence from his post as Director of the Classification Clinic, Clinton Prison, Dannemora, N. Y., which he has held for many years, Dr. Freedman has been credited with establishing the first Mental Hygiene Unit in the military service; these distinguished services have been recognized by his award of the Legion of Merit by the War Department. He has authored many important papers as the result of his experience with soldier maladjustment including violators of military law. He is considered an authority on the adaption of the Psychiatric Clinic to an administrative setting. —EDITOR.

sentence is still the best single deterrent to a man released after a single prison sentence, but it is impossible to believe that it can be, or should be, the sole deterrent. Just as there is no single cause of crime, nor any single type of prisoner, so there is no single method for the prevention of crime nor for the reclamation of those who have already been once convicted.

Our efforts at rehabilitation must be based upon one premise, held clearly before us—that all crimes are the result of some friction or incompatibility between the rules of social intercourse and the personality of the individual. There is no doubt that all of us have at some time felt the urge to break the law, but most of us find within ourselves forces strong enough to keep us from so doing. The criminal differs from us not so much in the commission of his crime, as in the lack of this inner restraint. If he had these checks he would not have committed the crime; if he does not develop them in prison he will most certainly commit other crimes. It is true that one sentence in prison does in some cases strengthen the restraint imposed by fear, but the shameful record of recidivism has clearly shown that this is a feeble effort.

The practical solution lies in restraining the criminal, consciously and deliberately. This is not achieved in punitive handling. It is necessary to relate his chronologic age to a wider recognition of his social immaturity. Socially he may be comparable, as an underdeveloped adult, to the child whom one would scarcely expect to resist strong temptation. Just as education in one form or another is the principal means whereby the child is restrained from further "crimes," so it is through education, in the broadest sense, that the criminal may be kept from further anti-social acts. Education does not mean mere formal training, but rather an integrated program which strives to remove all sources of friction and incompatibility between the prisoner and society.

Such an educational program must have two objectives, first, the training of the individual for vocational competence, and, second, the inculcation of new patterns of social thought. This latter objective must be achieved indirectly, as it is with children, through the development of a sense of personal value and responsibility.

A practical program to correct the vocational economic inadequacy which marks so many criminals is needed. The deficiencies which must be met and remedied in this work are, of course, as varied as the individuals themselves, but, in a schematic sense, it is possible to divide them into three types. Perhaps the largest number of these men are failures in their vocational adjustment for lack of the essential knowledge and training required to perform a job. Thus, a large number of men of potential

ability are without the specific skills which are needed for any but common labor. In their determination not to take positions which they feel below their ability or economic requirements they may, and often do, turn to crime. A second group of prisoners are economically maladjusted because they are attempting work beyond their mentality. While we recognize that it is not true, that mental defect *per se* is a major cause of crime, as was once believed, the milder mental disabilities or deficiencies are certainly of importance in the production of criminals. The problem of the "waster" of good family very often arises as the result of such a condition. Still a third group is composed of the personality deviates, who, for one reason or another, are without sufficient emotional strength or stamina to hold and successfully pursue an occupation.

In younger men, and especially in the case of first offenders, environmental and other factors play a large part, but in the case of the older, recidivistic prisoner these three factors are of more striking importance. We may expect more positive direction and assistance from the parole system⁽¹⁾ which acts to change the environmental factors with the younger, than we may reasonably expect in the case of the older prisoner. The older offender has only himself to look to; there are usually fewer family influences at work, such as those which in the younger man tend to bring about conformity. It is therefore all important that funds for an adequate vocational training program be applied to work with the older, even apparently more hopeless cases.

Successful vocational education must be based upon adequate personality analysis of the individual case. It is necessary that each man be recognized as a unique problem in readjustment, presenting unique problems and requiring a unique solution. The supervision of such a program must, for most adequate results, be entrusted to a practical educator of wide experience working in close liaison with the prison's Mental Hygiene Unit (Classification Clinic) which will make the various clinical studies and evaluations which are vital to the understanding of the individual, and provide guidance facilities and supervision. There is no place for any guess work in such school administration, and the aids furnished by modern educational science are all too few. The reasons are obvious, these men are characterized by their antisociality, so that in the majority of cases we must expect little cooperation and less perseverance. The corollary requirement, therefore, must be more and more ingenious motivation.

In the Classification Clinic then, it is necessary to extend our knowledge of the individual's personality, needs, interests and abilities as far as

we may before doing anything further. This preparation will include personality appraisal and psychometric evaluation, both for the determination of the general intelligence level and of the extent and nature of the specific special abilities, mechanical or educational. There are available a variety of technics which may furnish invaluable data. However, it is necessary to recognize that ability is only one factor working for success in any vocation. At least as important is a recognition of the trend of the individual's attitudes, interests, and preferences. As mental hygiene principles have proved, where it is possible to place a man in a vocational setting where both interest and ability will be engaged we may expect the best and most rapid progress.

However, there is no place in such a program for mere training without defined objective for applying the skills which develop. Our efforts must be directed towards achieving social adequacy in the individual. Thus, the ability to read novels is quite praiseworthy, but it is necessary to recognize that the time and effort required to teach this material for recreational purposes be applied more effectively to practical channels. Here, too, there is available a host of material which can guide the supervisor. The principle of most efficient utilization of the time and effort in study should be extended to the group in their choice of subjects. It is quite as wasteful to train a man for a position which cannot be available to him on his release as it is to attempt to train the mentally deficient in skilled vocations. The possession of the skill may be commendable, but if not utilized for practical purposes there has been no gain in the major objective — the removal of social handicaps. There are cases, naturally, where training in purely formal material is indicated as self respect may be built through such education, but these cases are rare or less important, when all things are considered.

It would be possible to outline a whole system for the administration of a vocational educational program for the prisons, but such a static approach must be avoided in this work. The entire administrative structure must be designed for flexibility, to allow rapid and detailed changes to meet any need of the trainee. Traditional methods of group teaching must be discarded whenever they prove unwieldy, no matter how much time and effort and creativity the new method may call for on the part of the teacher. It must be borne in mind that these men are adults; once interest is aroused they are able to determine their own rate of progress better than an instructor.⁽²⁾ There are two reasons for this, first, as has already been pointed out, there are no achievement standards for such penal education, and, second, these men are in as great need of per-

sonality training as of any formal fact-knowledge. To give this training, situations calling for self application, perseverance, self analysis and self criticism are essential. It is through the method of instruction, rather than through the material taught, that we hope for the greatest return in this program.

However, there need not, and must not, be any unguided work in this field of personality training. The services of the prison's Mental Hygiene Unit (Classification Clinic) must be expanded if the prison education program and school is to make any progress as has been indicated elsewhere.^{(3) (4) (5)} Education without the definitive evaluation of available professional resources can become a means without a purposeful end. The major personality deviations are the concern of the professionally trained alone. Their recognition and classification must precede any possible individual and group psychotherapeusis,^{(10) (11) (12) (13)} education or rehabilitation.

Here we must apply our knowledge of psychiatry and mental hygiene wherein we consider the whole mental and physical integration of the human organism, endeavoring to study and understand man in action with his environment. In this connection the works of the Gluecks had indicated the importance of the aging factor in the process of readjustment of the psychopath even up to the age of 36 and what Adolph Meyer has referred to as maturing common sense. There is no doubt that penal education can furnish valuable aid in such corrective work. To do this psychiatry and education must work together with the psychiatrist's skills utilized in the planning and direction of the social reclamation of this type of prisoner. The work of the Classification Clinic through the psychiatrist, in connection with the educational facilities (education and mental hygiene program), will be the development of methods of instruction, repeated interviews with the prisoner in order to determine the nature and extent of the changes worked by the school, and influence and direct further work. Here penology awaits the introduction and utilization of the CLINICAL TEAM of psychologist and psychiatric social worker(s) working under the direction of the psychiatrist, a TEAM formally and successfully set up as a MENTAL HYGIENE UNIT^{(6) (7) (8) (9)} in all echelons of the military service in World War II; this specific adaptation of the psychiatric clinic to penologic needs is very far from an accomplished fact. The CLINICAL TEAM makes possible a very practical and selective administrative and therapeutic program not otherwise possible and which alone can indi-

cate as well those prisoners who cannot profit from it ("psychiatric vocational diganosis").

It can be seen that the problem of the application of vocational education to the rehabilitation of prisoners is complicated by the presence of many factors. It is not, nor ever can be, a cure-all, but in the case of older prisoners, recidivists, "incurables," in general, in the less socially integrated prisoners, it may be the only practical method of treatment. However, to be of any value at all, such education must as indicated above be administered as a program, based on and geared to individual need. The goal set must always be the return of the individual to society better prepared for social living. There is need, then, for the recognition that vocational competence includes the possession of personality traits suited to the work. A man without self confidence, or without proper work habits, is incompetent no matter how great may be his knowledge or skill of a vocation.

In the face of the mounting costs of crime we must be prepared to apply new methods for the reduction of recidivism, and among such methods vocational training looms large as does the proper application of the psychiatric clinic to this (and the whole) penal program. The parole system is another device for the control of the postrelease life of the prisoners, but in the case of the older man this method loses much of its retraining and rehabilitative value. Where there are few environmental corrective influences, such as those of the family, or of noncriminal friends, and aid from extramural mental hygiene clinics, parole is of limited value. Parole depends upon manipulation of the environment, in the recognition that it is friction between the individual and his situation which results in crime. In the case of the older criminal such attempts are much less certain of success, as there are fewer noncriminal influences which may be brought to bear upon personality patterns and experience which is well established. In these cases a most important method for social reclamation is through an educational-psychiatric-mental hygiene program which is individually oriented. In the constructive use of such a program the older prisoner as a more understanding individual with practical knowledge and vocational skill may take up and live a more socially acceptable life.

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REMARKS CONCERNING CERTAIN EXAMPLES OF LATE MEDIEVAL ECCLESIASTIC ART

SIDNEY TARACHOW, M. D.

New York City, N. Y.

The art productions of the Christian Church from their beginnings through the medieval period up to the reformation display a variety of elements indicating the wide sources, the transformations and the conflicting attitudes to the religious ideas of the Church. Some of the art products of the late medieval period are excellent purveyors of the forces at work. Not only are the antique sources well represented, the Christianizing influences demonstrated and Church ideas expressed, but antireligious feelings also. The specific works to be described here are the woodcarvings found on English Church misericords built during the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. This is a type of symbolic and representational art work which ceased with the Reformation.

The misericords are interesting pieces of church furniture. They are stall seats constructed with a hinge at the insertion into the back of the bench permitting the seat portion to be folded up and back. The seat then stands vertically with the front edge directed to the ceiling. This puts the front edge at such a height and in such a position that it can serve as a rest under the seat of a standing worshiper. The edge can be made comfortable by extending a small platform forward thus creating a small seat. This platform is supported by a wedge of wood generally divided into a main centerpiece and two smaller supporting side pieces. This supporting block of wood never fails to carry woodcarving. Figure 1 illustrates a stall, the hinged, upraised seat, the supporting block of wood, the central and two supporting woodcarvings.

The churchgoer taking advantage of the misericord is in an interesting though ambiguous position. It might be parenthetically remarked that the earliest Christian churches had no seats at all. The services were long and the worshipers permitted themselves no comforts. With the aid of the misericord the worshiper is in the devotionally correct posture of standing in humility during the services but with the physical comforts of sitting. The worshiper looks as though he is standing but is actually sitting. It should be remembered that these misericords are found only in cathedral, collegiate and monastic churches, not in churches for the laity. The laity never sat (or stood) in these stalls: they were reserved for higher Church officials, monks and students. Originally they



FIGURE 1.

were introduced for the aged and infirm and also to give respite to monks who went through severely long schedules of prayers. Their use became extended, though never to the laity nor to the secular priests in the churches for the laity.

It might be said that these misericords have the ambivalent quality so often found in religious ideas and in neurotic obsessional symptoms; that is, to present at one time and in the same act the conflicting signs of both obedience and independence. Reik, in his early psychoanalytic studies on Ritual,⁽¹⁾ contributed some excellent observations and theory concerning the contradictory attitudes to God that can be found in various religious ceremonials and prayers. The misericords seem to be an architectural expression of conflicting attitudes, since they permit one to be humble and comfortable at one and the same time. Since these misericords always had woodcarvings, appeared only at a certain historical point in Christian history, disappearing at the Reformation, the art products they contain should be of more than passing interest.

In spite of the hundreds of misericords and their wide diffusion all students of the subject agree that Scriptural subjects from either the Old or New Testament are rare: many episodes from the life of Christ are never represented. Instead, the themes deal with ancient mythology, the Bestiaries, fables, calendars, occupations, domestic life, games, jokes, rebuses, romances, punishment for crimes, satires against the Church. Sexual themes are portrayed. In fact, Wright, the antiquarian, remarks, "These subjects are carried to a degree of indelicacy which cannot be described."⁽²⁾ The absence of Scriptural material is especially interesting in view of the limitation of their use to only the collegiate clergy and the higher hierarchy. It might be easy to agree with the churchman who explained the absence of Scriptural material by saying they did not wish to delineate sacred things at a point where it would be in contact with the "Least honorable portion of the human person."⁽³⁾ That is probably not quite the point. It would perhaps be more correct to say that the content of the art material was located where it was partly out of need to express condemnation for it and partly because of inner doubts as to whether the material should be hidden or exposed.

A brief sampling of the widespread subject matter expressed in the misericord woodcarvings will be described, illustrated and commented upon. The data studied by this author are taken from the works of Wright (1861)⁽⁴⁾, Parton (1878)⁽⁵⁾, Wildridge (1889)⁽⁶⁾, and Bond (1910)⁽⁷⁾. The last named author presents the most detailed and systematic descriptions, with a wealth of photographs.

Egyptian and ancient classical Greek mythology are represented: the Typhon, phoenix, griffin, dragon, siren, mermaid, centaur, satyr, dolphin and wodehouse. In the writings of the times, these creatures were all involved in stories, morals and parables taken from the Bible. It was as though the developing Christian mythology was superimposed on characters taken from pagan myths.

One of the most popular books between the fifth and twelfth centuries was the Book of Moral Beasts or the Bestiary. The book contained moral and religious stories, rendered in dialect, involving about fifty beasts known to medieval zoologists. The animals were used to symbolize good or evil or both or various elements of the Christian doctrine. To illustrate the mixture of medieval zoology and Christian doctrine, material about the lion can be taken as an example. Figure 2 is a misericord illustration of the Lion.



FIGURE 2

In the Bestiary it was stated⁽⁸⁾ that the lion has three natures; first he obliterates his footsteps with his tail. It continues, "In like manner our Lord concealed all traces of his Godhead, when he entered into the womb of Virgin Mary and became man." The second nature is that he sleeps with his eyes open. "So our Lord slept with his body in his grave, but his spirit was awake at the right hand of God." The third nature is that the lion has an appallingly loud roar. "The lioness always brings forth dead cubs; but on the third day the father, the lion, comes and roars over them and brings them to life by his breath." The lion thus also symbolized the Resurrection. The stories and illustrations were also about the tiger, elephant, hart, antelope, eagle, fox, whale, panther, serpent and many others. The hyena represented vice and corruption,

the otter resurrection, the dove Christians, pelican self sacrifice and the owl Jews because they could not see the light.

The Bestiaries also dealt with imaginary animals and composite monsters. The Unicorn and the Maiden was a celebrated story.

In figure 3 the unicorn is resting his head, which has one long, centrally placed horn, in the Virgin's lap and the hunter has come upon him to slay him. The unicorn is an animal who cannot be captured by hunters. To trap the unicorn the hunters place a virgin nearby. The unicorn runs to the maiden and trustingly places his head in her lap, doing her no harm. The hunters then come and kill it. According to

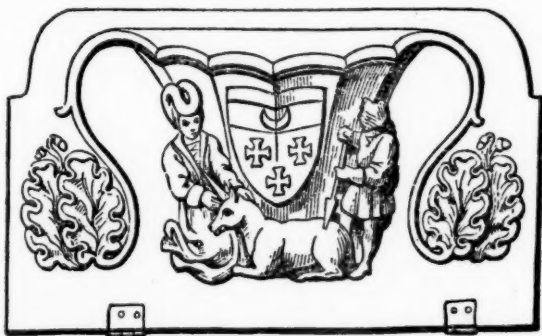


FIGURE 3

the Bestiary⁽⁹⁾, "The unicorn is a type of our Lord-he has raised up a horn of salvation for us." "The mighty ones of the world were unable to lay hold of him, until he had abode in the womb of the Blessed Virgin." The unicorn is also a symbol of chastity, "If she be not a pure maid, the

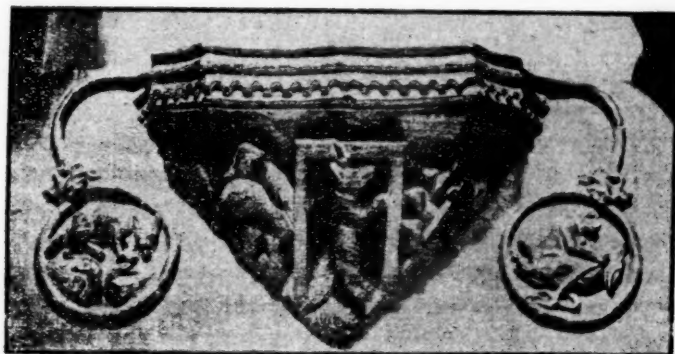


FIGURE 4

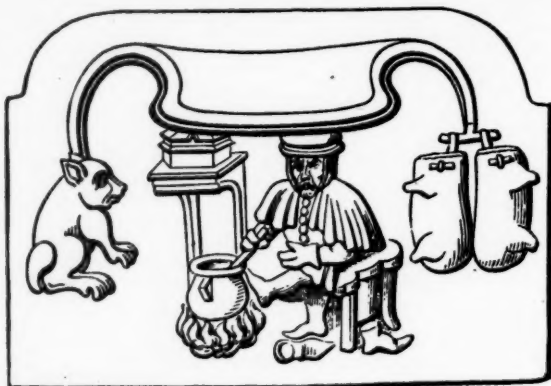


FIGURE 5



FIGURE 6



FIGURE 7

unicorn will not sleep, but killeth the damsel who is not pure." Other imaginary beasts were created, the salamander, remora, charadrius, cockatrice, who killed by looking at his victims and others.

Various tales, fables and medieval romances were illustrated in the woodcarvings. Perhaps the most famous of these tales is of Reynard the Fox, a fable which appeared as early as the seventh century. The fable swept over Europe and was especially popular with children. The fable was put to various uses in attacking all manner of secular and religious abuses, particularly the latter. The fox was the villain of the piece. The scene of the hanging of the fox was a great favorite (the fox was reprieved at the last moment to continue his malfactions: evil was not always punished in medieval lore).⁽¹⁰⁾ In figure 4 the fox is being hanged by three geese. In one side piece the fox has come across two sleeping geese and in the other an ape is removing the noose from the fox's neck.

Scenes from everyday life, agriculture, trade and sports were presented in the misericords. These illustrate the clothes, manners, mores, furniture and architecture of the times.

Figure 5 illustrates a man warming his feet at a fire, figure 6 a man being rebuffed at love making and figure 7 a ball game. Home life, cooking, spinning, corporal punishment, milkmaids, slaughtering, shoemaking, hunting, hawking, grimacing, professional fools, football and tame bears all found their way into the misericords, truly a collection of secular, not religious activities.

Biblical material, either Old or New Testament, is rare. Old Testament subjects include the Temptation, Sacrifice of Isaac, Samson and Jonah and the Whale. New Testament material dealt generally with the Infancy and Passion. Some of the subjects were the Annunciation, gifts to the Nativity, Circumcision, the Presentation of the Temple, John the Baptist, Three Marys, the Trinity in various forms, Last Judgment, Ascension and Virgin and Child. All antiquarians who have studied the subject note with surprise that these subjects form only an extremely small percentage of all the matter dealt with in the woodcarvings. Two examples follow. Figure 8 is the Judgment of Solomon and figure 9 is the Death of John the Baptist.

Scenes from Mystery and Miracle plays and the adventures of the various Saints are represented. Struggles between the Devil and the forces of virtue are pictured. In figure 10 the Devil is carrying off the nude ale-wife, still holding the tankard in which she gave short measure, to throw her into the mouth of Hell, along with other sinning victims. Another Devil is a scribe with his record of the sins committed. The

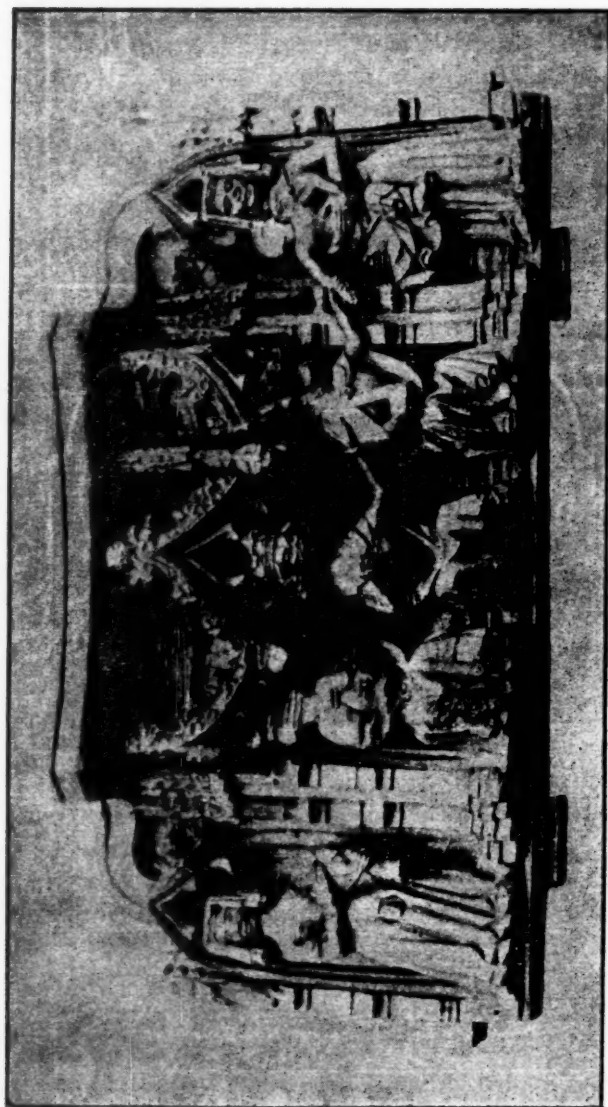


FIGURE 8



FIGURE 9

Devil, in this misericord, as well as in many others, seems to be an amiable fellow, even though presumably punishing the nude women. This is certainly a sexually stimulating scene, calculated to provoke envy of the Devil, who has such pleasant work, handling nude women. It might also be noted that in many illustrations representing a struggle between the Devil and the forces of virtue the Devil is often figured as triumphant, or at least the issue is left in doubt.⁽¹¹⁾

There were also whole series of burlesques, grotesques and satires on jousts and tournaments, on religion, on doctors and dentists, on music and dancing. There were also comic reversals of customary relationships between the weak and the strong. There were misericords illustrating a wife beating her husband, rats hanging a cat, hares chasing a hound, a man giving his wife a ride in a barrow, husband and wife struggling for possession of the breeches, a rabbit riding a fox, a cock riding a fox, a fox riding a hound, a rabbit roasting a man on a spit. In figure 11 three mice are hanging a fat cat.

This type of reversal strikes a deep chord of sympathy in everyone who has had to make his adjustment to figures of authority.

Several examples of direct satiric thrusts against the clergy or against the services are here given. In figure 12 a fox is dressed as a bishop or abbot reading from a book held by an ass to a congregation of a cock and five hens. He has seized the cock by the neck, but goes on preaching. Even the solemn service of the Mass was satirized, as figure 13 indicates.

Figure 14 is of three fools dancing.

A brief discussion of the material will include remarks on paganism, the Devil, the sexual doctrine of Mary and the Reformation.

It is not irrelevant to note that it was not until the tenth century after Christ that the Church felt reasonably certain it had won its battle with paganism on the European continent. To be sure that battle has not yet been entirely resolved (Mummer's Day and Mardi Gras festivals still attest to that), but as a serious doctrinal problem and as a matter of control of symbols and holy days the battle had been won. The policy of the Church had been, on the one hand, to pronounce edict after edict in suppression of the celebration of pagan festivals and, on the other hand, to extend itself to the utmost to absorb the pagan festivals into its own calendar of holidays. The calendar coincidence of many Christian and pagan holidays is an established fact.^{(12) (13)}

To be sure, the Church continued to make concessions to pagan trends, to sensual or instinctual trends and even to antireligious trends.

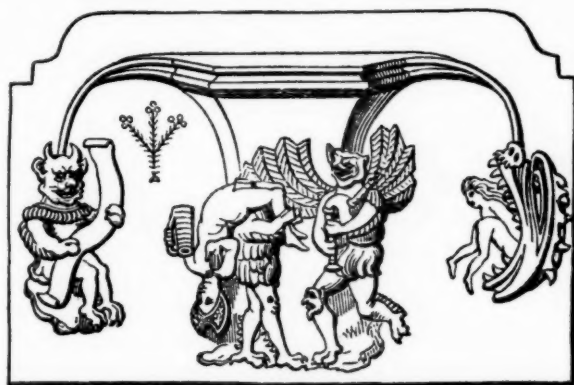


FIGURE 10



FIGURE 11



FIGURE 12



FIGURE 13

The most important concessions were the various permitted festivals such as the Feast of Fools, the Boy Bishop, Lord of Misrule, Donkey Festival and various other ceremonialized outbreaks of defiance of Church authority, sexual indulgence, irreligion, paganism, licentiousness and perversion. Other important outlets for lay expression of pagan or ambivalent religious feelings were certain religious processions and religious dramatics, particularly the lay productions of the Mystery and Miracle plays.



FIGURE 14

The various festivals and dramatic spectacles were originally authorized by the Church at various times and for varying reasons. They were staged either in the churches or in the courtyards of the churches (the church was generally the only large and well constructed building in any given town) or in close relation with the Church authorities and the doctrine or symbols offered by the Church at the time. The fact that these ecclesiastically authorized institutions began to get out of hand is indicated in the records of the Church itself. There are published records of the Church at first vainly and then successfully prohibiting lay production of the dramatics and the festivals. Even with the complete suppression of the lay Mystery plays the English Church, at Norwich, for example, found itself still obliged to permit annual Rogation Day display of the Dragon, certainly a pagan symbol, in ceremonies and processions.⁽¹⁴⁾ What remain now of the publicly performed Mystery and Miracle plays are only the most pallid remnants of lusty and satirical ancestors. The upper levels of the hierarchy even found itself at odds with the lower orders of Church officers, since there are records of edicts prohibiting the lower orders of Church officers from taking part in the festivals or the dramatics.

The character most enjoyed as a comedian by the medieval audiences was the figure of the Devil. This might seem odd in view of the hateful and sinful role assigned him by the Church authorities, but perhaps this was precisely the source of his attraction and fascination. It should be pointed out that the Devil does not appear in Church architecture until about the tenth century,⁽¹⁵⁾ at about the time the Church felt in command of the current symbolic figures. The pagan had now been supplanted by the Christian symbol of the forbidden impulses. From the tenth century onward until the Reformation the representation of the Devil suffered a gradual change.⁽¹⁶⁾ In the beginning he was introduced as a terrifying, horrible and cruel personage. But by the time of the Reformation the representation of the Devil had slowly changed and he was often treated as a comic, ridiculous and in some cases as even a benign figure simply out for a good time. There were even widespread terms of endearment for the Devil, such as "auld Clootie" and "auld Hornie."⁽¹⁷⁾ This was, of course, the treatment of the Devil at the hands of the players in the lay productions of the Mystery and Miracle plays.

The Christian doctrine was centrally concerned with the sexual problem of Mary. The need to prove Mary's ability to give birth to Christ and at the same time deny the physiologic prerequisites for pregnancy became a focus of ecclesiastic disputation over many centuries and became a point of separation between Catholic and certain Protestant denominations, who, far from denying Mary's sexual activity, hated her roundly for it. This conflict at the theologic level has its counterpart in the emotional conflicts which can be discovered in young boys concerning their attitudes towards their mothers. This conflict is often found to be etiologic in the formation of neurotic problems in young children trying to assimilate a growing knowledge of sex into their relationship to their parents. The story of the Unicorn and the Maiden displays two sides of such a conflict. On the one hand, if the unicorn finds that the damsel is "impure" he will destroy her; on the other hand, if he approaches her, death is his reward. Sex is denied both. The theologians had an appreciation of the sexual symbolization of the unicorn and had an ambivalent attitude about it. On the one hand, "He has raised up a horn of salvation for us," and on the other hand, "Until he had abode in the womb of the Blessed Virgin" he was safe; as soon as that occurred "the mighty ones" slew him. The Christian mythology has the delicate and difficult task of both recognizing and denying sexual activity in its idealized parental figures. Even in the story about the

lion, zoology is quoted as proof of sex without sex, "Our Lord concealed all traces of his Godhead, when he entered into the womb of Virgin Mary and became man." Ambivalent attitudes to Mary appeared in the Miracle and Mystery plays which were popular at the time. Scenes from these plays found their way into the misericords. These plays, originally staged by the Church in local churches for the dramatization and elucidation of the Scriptures and the lives of the Saints, were taken over by lay groups during a period of several centuries. In these lay productions the comic element was made prominent, the chief comedians being the Devil, the Jew disbeliever and characters who doubted Mary's virginity. These characters would be appropriately punished, but the ambivalent attitude to Mary would nevertheless have succeeded in finding public expression.

The cessation of this type of art and architecture at the Reformation deserves comment. It might be said that after the Church attained victory over its pagan sources the struggle which the medieval Church faced then took a different turn: the struggle now became an internal one, not with paganism as such, but rather with man's constant striving for expression of his instinctual life and his search for freedom and self respect. It should be remembered that this (late medieval) period was the period during which there were also other cultural and artistic expressions of ambivalence or open hostility to theologic institutions. The Feast of Fools was first officially authorized by Theophylact of Constantinople in 990 A. D.⁽¹⁸⁾, but within the course of the next few centuries it had become so popular and unrestrained that it was prohibited and finally abolished. This was also the time of the parodies of the Latin Mass⁽¹⁹⁾⁽²⁰⁾ in which the impressive Latin services were transformed into obscenity and vulgarity. There was even a struggle over the widespread demand for rendering the Church services in local dialect. The Church fought bitterly to keep the services everywhere in Latin. This permitted greater centralized control of theologic doctrine and definition of terms. The developing nationalism of the various European states was of some assistance in overcoming, partly at least, this problem. Finally, the Miracle and Mystery plays served as outlets for ambivalent feelings. These plays, at first strictly sacerdotal, were progressively secularized and turned in a comic direction until the Church put an end to them.

Perhaps the misericord art work ceased at the time it did because the open split which crystallized in the Reformation put an end to the need for such pervasive ambivalence within the structure of Church art

and dramatics. The rebellious tendencies were canalized by the Reformation, while the Church continued to turn in an even more conservative direction. The Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century, crystallized the final point of separation of those two opposing tendencies⁽²¹⁾. This Council crystallized not only Catholic Church doctrine concerning theologic problems but also various cultural problems dealing with the arts, music, marriage and so on. The idea of the Reformation as a vehicle for purely revolutionary tendencies should not be assumed. Luther and other early Protestants became severely dogmatic in turn. In fact, artists influenced by Luther again began to picture the Devil in horrible guise⁽²²⁾. But the fact is that Protestantism progressively developed numberless schisms and sects, certainly a sign of healthy revolutionary ferment, while Catholicism remained more firmly centralized than ever.

In summary, one could say that the misericords, as examples of late medieval art and architecture, illustrate certain historical and psychological facets of the developing Christian doctrine. The conflictful attitude to the Deity is expressed by the construction which permits over humility but at the same time concealed comfort and self interest. The subject matter of the art work indicates several other elements. The Christianization of pagan sources is revealed: the attempt to solve the sexual problem of Mary is indicated. The ambivalent attitude to sensuality and the instincts is illustrated.

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SCIENTIFIC DETECTION OF DECEPTION

F. ORLANDO SCOTT, M. D.

Chicago, Ill.

Important points along the physiologic road to discovery, whereby the Polygraph was made possible, date from the time of Galileo, who, when a boy of 18 attending the University medical school (1564), stood staring one day at divine service intrigued by the swinging lamps in the cathedral of Pisa — his lips move — the fingers of his right hand are clamped to the pulse of his left wrist — he is counting. For untold years those lamps had swung as worshipers by the hundreds of thousands had watched them idly, and then gone their way never dreaming they had been brushed by the wings of a great mystery — for Galileo had discovered the law of the pendulum, made possible the clock, a doctor's instrument to count the pulse accurately.

Time marched on, Dr. Harvey some fifty-two years later first recognized and described the circulation of the blood; then a few years after Galileo's death (1642) his pupil Torricelli, continuing his researches, developed the manometer. Now the stage was set for the Reverend Stephan Hales, an Englishman (1741), to discover that there was a pressure to tree-sap. Groping a step further he deduced that man, and animals as well, must have a blood pressure. He demonstrated this by inserting a brass tube into the crural artery of a horse. It was more than a century later before the first estimation was made in man (1856) when Dr. J. Faivre, a French military surgeon who had a patient requiring amputation of the arm at the elbow, connected up the main artery by means of a rubber tube to a manometer and then found that the mercury column was forced upwards 120 millimeters. The blood pressure in this soldier's case was 120 millimeters of mercury, or, as we say today, simply 120 systolic pressure. However, this method of blood pressure taking as a routine would have proved quite unpopular so the world at large had to await the advent of an Italian physician, Scipione Riva-Rocci, who, in 1896, first developed the blood pressure cuff which, with some modifications, is the same device we use today both in the doctor's office and the lie detector laboratory, even though it did take one hundred and fifty-five years after the time of Hales' discovery of the phenomenon.

The next phase of the Science of Detection of Deception took place at the Harvard Psychology Laboratory where its Head, Professor Hugo

Münsterberg (1908) first accidentally discovered the phenomena of detection while recording blood pressure and respirations in the soot covered paper of a revolving kymograph. Some of his student-subjects happened to prevaricate on certain answers to questions being put. The experimenter quickly noted the physiologic changes of (a) increased rise of blood pressure, (b) quickening of the pulse beat, as well as (c) changes in the respiratory ratios, and tied them in with the phenomena of deception — as soon as he ascertained by a follow-up inquiry that untruths had been uttered where these characteristic changes had occurred under the compulsion of fear-of-being-caught. The so-called blood pressure "lie detector" thus was fathered by Münsterberg not "invented" by him or anyone else; but, like many professors of the old school, he made no practical application of his discovery of a method for the visible recording of body changes under questioning. Consequently, the technic was forgotten until one of his students later made certain innovations in it. But neither his adaption of the Münsterberg technic, nor the Northwestern Crime Detection Laboratory's polygraph recording device was ever admitted in the courts in any case where it was offered as evidence over objections. Rather, in both instances where it was presented, the higher courts rejected its "findings," so that up to 1935, laboratory lie detection everywhere was still shackled to the uncertainties residing in a technic where there is consistently, and admittedly, an approximate 25 per cent of working error.

The reasons for such prior trial rejections were chiefly four:

1. No blood pressure lie detector operator before the writer had apparently ever analyzed or established the medico-legal status of this device, as against living, thinking, rational, competent, human beings who were qualified to be given this type of emotional test, in order to arrive at an opinion, based on a reasonable degree of medical certainty, that the results thus obtained were true and correct representations. No such nonmedical operator had ever realized that there were two "machines" to qualify — the measuring machine, the blood pressure lie detector, and the human "machine." That before any experienced court of record will even consider admitting this type of examination as evidence, both "machines" must be duly and properly qualified as being in good working order and showing what they portend to show.

2. The only way in which the human subject can be qualified to suit the requirements of a court is for that subject to be physically and mentally examined by a doctor of medicine, a psychiatrist skilled in his specialty as well as in the making of detection tests, before the test itself

is administered. This, in order to form an opinion as to whether or not the subject is within what we term normal range in body and mind—competent to be given such a physiologic test based on emotional reactions. None of those earlier lie detector operators were medical men—none qualified to form such an opinion, based on a reasonable degree of medical certainty, that the subject was competent to be given such a test.

3. Before polygraph lie detection findings could be properly introduced in evidence, another obstacle had to be overcome. Muscular movements will produce some changes, although ordinarily minute, in one's blood pressure. Hence, if a subject was measured on a polygraph, without a musclegraph, even though the measurements were made by a qualified physician, an astute cross-examiner could question whether the full rise of blood pressure was due to an uttered untruth or to the subject's having wiggled his toes or moved some hidden body muscle. Therefore, it was necessary for the writer to anticipate such a pitfall and remedy it in advance by inventing the musclegraph. This was accomplished by constructing a special chair for the testee to sit in during the lie test; a chair made additionally comfortable by being inflated so that any muscular movement could be immediately recorded on the tape alongside the other graphs (1935).

4. The instrument in question used for the lie detection test, whether it is a polygraph or the Psycho-Detecto-Meter, must be qualified as: (a) being a recognized and standardized assembly of well known scientific parts; (b) that it was in good working order and accurate in its recordings at the time the graphs or meter measurements were made; (c) whether or not the witness was familiar with the proper taking and marking of the graphs and was skilled in the use of the lie detector used; (d) whether or not the witness took, or made, the graphs or meter measurements offered in evidence, or was present when the graphs or meter measurements were made; (e) a description of the position of the body of the person and the juxtaposition of the machine when the graphs or meter measurements were made; (f) whether or not the witness had ever made graphs or meter measurements with this machine (if he testified he did not actually use the lie detector in this case but was merely present when the test was made). Then, if the later situation, whether he had made tests with this same machine and had observed its recordings with his own eyes and seen in the emotional reactions on true and false; also, (g) whether or not he had been in possession of the graphs or meter measurements since they were made; (h) if they are in the same condition as when taken; (i) whether there are identifying marks on them,

or recordings, that to the witness prove them to be the graphs or meter measurements, or recordings, of the person in the case so tested; (j) the number of such graphs or meter measurements made by the examiner or witness, to prove his expertness in qualifying as a detectologist, and the period over which he specialized in the detection field; (k) then the witness may be asked, after the remainder of the qualifications have been covered as indicated in Nos. 3 and 4 following, as to whether or not he has an opinion, based on his experience in the making and interpreting of lie detector graphs or meter measurements, and after a physical and mental examination of the subject, as to the correctness of the graphs or meter measurements in portraying the emotional reactions, the fear-of-being-caught pattern, the condition that it purports to show, or represent, and as to whether or not the graphs or meter measurements are accurate tracings, or recordings, of the results of the internal emotional condition of the brain-body of the defendant.

Further, there must here be proffered for the record by the doctor-examiner, either a pointing out, or an opinion, that, based on a reasonable degree of medical, physiologic and psychologic certainty, the graph curves and their variations were produced by the questions asked when answers thereto were given. That the graphs or meter measurements showing no comprehensive or characteristic change in curve, elevation or increase, when compared to certain graphs or meter measurements made when the defendant answered known truths, must be, and are in fact proof that they were also answered in a truthful vein; whereas, if the graphs or meter measurements occurring on the chart when certain pertinent questions were answered do parallel in characteristic change the graph or meter measurements made by the defendant when he uttered voluntary lies at the request of the doctor-examiner, then said similar graphs or meter measurements do indicate untruthful responses where shown. (Case No. 34-E-5191. Circuit Court, Chicago, 1935, introduced by the writer in evidence).

The next introduction ever made in evidence, also by the writer, was in 1935, before the Federal Employees' Compensation Commission, Deputy Commissioner Kenneth G. McManigal presiding, in Illinois. Here a Negro employee had suffered a broken arm and brain concussion. However, when the graphs were shown him he quickly broke down. Going before the Commission the next day the man was placed on the witness stand and upon interrogation of Deputy Commissioner McManigal he stated for the record that the lie detector was "right." Whereupon the Deputy-United States Commission did state for the record that he considered this test a "scientific malingering test."

The third admission of the lie detector in medico-legal history was in New York State, (August 1935) also by the writer. An employee of the Buffalo Waterfront Corporation, contended that he had a severe spinal injury sustained in line of duty. Having occurred on the water it automatically became a Federal Employee matter. The medical evidence offered for and against was so diametrically contradictory that the same Deputy-United States Commissioner, also hearing this New York case and remembering the results obtained in his recent Chicago hearing, just cited prior, continued the case and ordered a test. It showed he had never even been injured on the premises at all as claimed; the lie detector proved he had been injured working for an entirely different company months before where he did sustain an injury to his spine. The lie detector thus clearly exposed the dishonesty of his claim in the matter being litigated; and, although the claimant even told lies while on the lie detector to his own attorney, this lawyer nevertheless objected to the lie detector evidence the next day at trial but was promptly and properly overruled. The Commissioner found against this litigant, where, if he had been successful it would have cost the Company at least \$15,000.00; the case was never appealed!

Since 1935 the writer has been successful in obtaining many other admissions of such technic in evidence over objections after medical qualifications of both the polygraph and Psycho-Detecto-Meter (Electronic Lie Detector), where their findings have cleared up numberless litigated controversies — protecting the innocent while exposing the guilty.

However, no dissertation on psychologic tests, whether utilized in the field of criminology as such or in the vast activities of social industrial life, would be complete without a full explanation of the newer electrical way of carrying out such brain-body measurements.

In the first place, just as it was a long difficult physiologic road that had to be traveled through many years and by numberless scientists, before polygraphic phenomena could become an entity — so it has been even a harder and more protracted trip before bio-electricity, brain-body electronics were discovered and their present method of measurement made possible.

The human brain, says Professor Edward Burge, University of Illinois physiologist, has an electrically positive cortex in sleep and is electro-negative during waking consciousness; that a sleeper has 1/100 of 1 micro-ampere of current but on awakening this increases five times.

Likewise, he continues, there is more positive charge on the scalp over the thinking areas of the human brain.

Emotions, whether due to external stimuli from something one sees or hears that excites fear or rage, or due to a memory or imagination stimulus, along the same lines — are all caused by a change in the brain electrical potential. Nevertheless, it is still a fluctuation in the variation of brain electrical charge due to thalamic-cortical conscious apprehension and perception.

Therefore, when one measures by proper contact, the results of this emerging brain electrical change, inherent in all living protoplasm, one can accurately determine it in terms of any particular human mind's electrical-change-reaction to a word stimulus—because in all living human beings there is this same bio-electrical change and it is reliably accurate in every rational individual, although the fractional micro-amperes of fluctuation do vary somewhat, depending upon age, sex, and condition of health.

The efficiency of this technic, as compared to the polygraph now antiquated for economical lie test purposes can be readily appreciated. With this newer electrical method one can discard preliminary costly premedical tests of the subject. With the Psycho-Detecto-Meter being utilized, 100 per cent of individuals, if rational, can be taken on for the test directly from the waiting-room — and it is no difficult matter to determine as to whether or not the individual is rational and competent because the preliminary discussion of the high lights of the case in question with the subject, occupying as it does some fifteen to thirty minutes beforehand, provides ample time to arrive at an opinion as to the normalcy of the mind under observation, before the test is ever decided upon.

It would seem, therefore, that the development of a scientific method of measuring the results of brain-body electrical changes produced by emotional stimuli does definitely overcome the original objections of Judge Wickhem in the *State vs. Bohner*, Wisconsin case as well as the earlier similar objection voiced by Judge Van Orsdel in the *Frye vs. United States* the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia affirming the decision of a lower court which had held inadmissible expert nonmedical testimony in explanation of a blood pressure deception test when they said "because the uncertain character of the test in view of the experiments carried on up to that time." "Just when a scientific principle or discovery crosses the line between experimental and demonstrable stages is difficult to define."

Today deception tests have quite definitely "emerged from that twilight zone," are no longer "experimental," are truly in the "demonstrable stage" — if the blood pressure technic is handled under medical supervision and the subject is qualified prior to the test as laid down herein. Likewise, with our common knowledge of the accuracy of electrical brain-body measurements in general usage everywhere, such as the electrocardiograph, which measures electrical potential differentials in the heart, and the electroencephalograph which measures brain electrical potential change (by means of the Berger brain wave), for the purpose of detecting brain electrical variations in certain types of suspected intracranial brain pathologies, diseases and affections, such as dementia praecox, epilepsies and brain tumors, there is no logical medico-legal reason that should be advanced today in refusing continued admittance to the Psycho-Detecto-Meter, the writer's invention, or the pathometer, developed by Father Walter G. Summers, whereby the results of brain-body electrical potentials are mechanically recorded as they occur in rationals stimulated by answering definite psychometric questions. Because there is a characteristic lack of electrical pattern when the truth is told, as well as one characteristic of the brain electrical change when a subject tells a lie and thereby undergoes the emotional reaction that always accompanies a fear-of-being-caught stimulus under proper test conditions.

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BIRTH CONTROL AND CRIMINALITY

THEODORE R. ROBIE, M. D.

Montclair, N. J.

Slowly but surely with the march of time, and man's persistence in determining the true facts about our civilization, through careful sociologic research, the basic causes of criminal behavior are coming to light. And as these causative factors are illuminated for all to see, one cannot help but realize that a very large portion, in fact a distinct majority of the crimes committed today, would not have occurred had the previous generation been adequately informed concerning birth control so that children would have been born where wanted, and into homes where health and happiness reigned. It is recognized only too well that the chief breeding places of crime today are the poverty stricken homes where mentally defective parents spawn large families and where inadequate food, shelter and parental control prevail. Furthermore, because of these factors, the new generation nurtured in such faulty atmosphere, is inadequately educated for parenthood because of the need for self support at an early age and is often unhealthy because of the inadequacy of health protecting measures and the lack of proper food in the sordid milieu into which they were born.

Progressive forward-looking American citizens must point the way to the rest of the world in stamping out this breeding ground of criminality which, up to now, has been fostered by civilization. The high standard of living one can earn today stands out in striking contrast to the insufficient capacity for attaining this level of existence on the part of these defectives who constitute a considerable proportion of the population.

This results in many defectives taking up what seems to them the easiest way of attaining a higher standard of living, through criminal behavior. Then as a result of the education in crime received in their first reformatory sentence, the persistence of criminal behavior is assured. Geneticist S. J. Holmes has pointed out that, "Prisons and reformatories, so-called agents of reformation, are usually worse than failures," and in "The Repression of Crime" Sociologist Harry Elmer Barnes has remarked, "*instead of reforming the criminal, penitentiaries are in reality institutions for the training of more efficient and determined criminals.*" It is important for all to realize, however, that the reason for this is not the failure of our administration of reformatories, but rather the unreformable character of the majority of the inmates, who because

of defective intelligence, cannot be taught the essential goals of civilized living. Thus they prefer to exist by preying upon the commerce of their more civilized contemporaries, lacking as they do the mental caliber necessary for the development of that basic fundamental of civilized living, the human conscience.

One cannot repeat the two words "birth control" without immediately associating the name of the woman who first used them, Margaret Sanger, for it is this modern Joan of Arc who must receive the credit for the improvement which has so far been brought about in that modest segment of the world's vast population which has ardently embraced the ideals and advantages incumbent in birth control. Not until she dared to use these words publicly and to urge birth selection through planned parenthood, did civilized humanity become conscious of its need for this measure so essential to its progress. Perhaps the most convincing document ever published on the theme of birth control is Margaret Sanger's book "Motherhood in Bondage," written at a time (1928) when public utterance of the words "birth control" might bring about arrest and even imprisonment. Yet a careful reading of any single chapter should be sufficient to convince any person with an open mind that civilization's greatest need today, is the control of births through planned selection of desirable parents and the prevention of reproduction of the unfit.

This mother is one of a multitude whose letters to Margaret Sanger supply the data for this remarkable book: "*I am thirty years old, have been married fourteen years and have twelve children. Every one is defective.*" Is it any wonder that Mrs. Sanger should conclude: "There is a certain class of women predestined by Nature to the high calling of motherhood; it is no less evident that there are others completely unfit for it. . . These cases record the frightful toll exacted from women unfitted either by physical defect, by psychic abnormality, or defective heredity, to undertake the serious task of bearing children. . . Reading them, one cannot refrain from asking if this philanthropic and humanitarian nation of ours can long consent to recruit its citizens of 1938, or 1948, or for the rest of this century, at such an inestimable cost of human well being and health. . . It is evident that many mothers do not realize the complete nature of their congenital defects. . . The women submit to the following, and seemingly inevitable, pregnancy in a depleted physical and mental state. The infant reflects the debility of the mother. . . It begins its feeble struggle for life in an environment which must doom it from the start to a miserable existence.

"These are the victims of the bland indifference of American society. . . The majority of them have been due to the community's refusal to help these victims of enforced maternity to help themselves. No civilization worthy of the name, can permit the perpetuation of a system of disastrous breeding upon human beings which would be condemned immediately by the Federal Government if practiced by breeders of livestock.

"...In an environment of poverty, of destitution, of hunger, of debts, of anxiety, often of physical and mental defect, and always of fear, the advent of each new baby is looked upon as a calamity. Who can express surprise that children born under such conditions come into the world with a handicap of physical and psychical defect, and are practically doomed before their birth? . . . Poverty multiplied by ignorance, hunger, disease, congenital defect, cannot be a proper breeding-ground for the future generations of America."

Today the medical profession must recognize its great responsibility to educate the body politic to the imperative need for adopting a eugenic viewpoint in order that our lawmakers may institute proper statutes to bring about steady improvements in our human stock rather than permitting the perpetuation of racial deterioration which we know is proceeding at a rapid pace.

Judge Ben Lindsay, a contemporary of Margaret Sanger, whose vast experience with juvenile delinquency is unequalled, expressed his views in these emphatic words: "Place the conception of children absolutely within the control of the people who should have them, and the economic difficulty which makes marriage such a tragedy today in so many lives would be largely cleared up. . . Ignorance, poverty, poor health, and unwanted children, often physically and mentally subnormal, combine to jam the whole works. It is a crime that children should be conceived under such conditions. It is a crime that we should permit ourselves to spawn as if we were a race of frogs."

In considering all that the term "birth control" implies for the human race, it is necessary to keep in mind what our aims and ideals are for humanity. Certainly everyone would agree that our aim must always be toward the continued improvement of the human race. This means an increase in the proportion of persons of higher intelligence and of higher social ideals (which means really higher educability). At the same time, it means a decrease in the proportion of persons of lower intelligence and of lower social ideals. It goes without saying that the criminals within our population are persons of lower social ideals though

it is not denied that occasionally criminal behavior does occur in persons of high intelligence who we might theoretically believe would possess high social ideals. This paradox however can be explained on the basis of unfortunate environmental influences which in rare instances do occur where parental influence fails to profit by the educational opportunities available in our democracy.

Let us consider what is the condition of affairs at our present stage of civilization. In 1880 all humanity totaled not more than 750 million souls. A phenomenal growth began, due principally to lowered death rates and improved means of subsistence, so that within a few generations the population of the world doubled. And we have continued lowering death rates so that now our world population is almost triple that of 1880 — all this increase in less than a century!

Has the quality of our population kept pace with this vast quantitative increase?

That our population quality has been decreasing is attested to by many scientists, including investigators in many fields of research, so that today we find authorities expressing apprehensive views about our future. Dean Inge of Saint Paul's in London, asks: "Is it possible any longer to exempt the growth and the quality of the population from the scope of rationally directed effort?" And H. G. Wells points out that "the cardinal problem of civilization is the question of births. In primitive societies, numbers were kept down, and the weak and unruly eliminated by war, famine and pestilence, often supplemented by infanticide. But these methods are ceasing to be operative today. Therefore, in our crowded world we are driven to limit our numbers in one way or another, and *birth control is the only peaceful way.*" This of course implies "birth selection," that is, fostering the procreation of future generations by the selected best of all nations.

President Cutten of Colgate University has prophesied that, "*A civilization which removes natural checks (war, famine, pestilence) before it fosters higher controls (intelligently planned parenthood) is committing suicide.*"

During World War II, the worst war of mankind's experience, we saw emphatic confirmation, through the carefully applied methods of the selective draft, of Cutten's observation that "only the fittest are permitted to go to war and be killed, and therefore the most dysgenic factor in our modern civilization is war." And he further comments: "Prolonging the lives of the unfit to become the breeding stock of the nation is suicidal. . . *One of our most serious problems today is*

that of feeble-mindedness. We deny Nature's method of solution of this problem (the survival of the fittest), but what is ours? Intelligence says sterilization." He refers of course to our careful feeding, clothing and sheltering in modern institutions of those defectives unable to care for themselves in the community and the preservation of that vast multitude of unemployables on our relief rolls.

Yet, with a feeble-minded population in our nation alone, reaching the staggering total of 8 to 10 million persons,* the social consciousness of the electorate has been so inadequate that we have only succeeded in enacting enough laws in a few states, during the thirty-five years since the first meager beginnings in this needed program for racial betterment, to sterilize not even 1 per cent of this vast horde of defectives tainting our population.

Our era in civilization will have the unenviable record of having perpetuated the moron and imbecile by assuring his right to reproduce his kind, *ad infinitum*, to the end that eventually the intelligent classes may be eliminated from the face of the earth. That this must be the ultimate outcome, if we continue without positive eugenic laws, is clearly evident from the fact that *the feeble-minded are doubling their numbers every ten years, while normal people are not maintaining their numbers.* So, whence will come our skilled doctors, authors, research workers, engineers, and our politicians in the future (for they certainly must spring from the normal group)? Some authorities paint a picture far worse. A research in England by Professor Raymond Cartell netted this observation: "In 30 years we may expect a 24% increase in mental deficiency, and if this is permitted to go on, *more than half the population would be mentally defective in 300 years.*" This is a deplorable state of affairs at our stage in the world's history when there can be no doubt that the demand for people of high ability is increasing rapidly. Millions of brains of the highest possible caliber will be required to harness for mankind's benefit the untold power available through the principle used in making the atomic bomb and to turn to civilized usage the principle for electrical control available in radar. And to make humanity realize the necessity for the principle of "live and let live," after this second World War which nearly resulted in mankind's effacement from the earth's surface, will require a degree of altruism in all persons far above any so far developed. This is possible only in that type of community where an aristocracy of brains consistently influences the behavior of the multitude.

* One research (Lorimer & Osborn) estimates we have 10 million feeble-minded.

From what social group comes the bulk of our criminals? The answer to this question should tell us which portion of the population should be prevented from procreating. Because the mosquito is a pest that hampers mankind's progress by spreading malaria, we spend millions to stamp out mosquito breeding places, in fact, it was only by stopping their breeding that the building of the Panama Canal was made possible. The analogy is apparent; only through stopping the breeding of our sociologic pests who produce the bulk of our criminals will we begin to improve our race and attain the higher standards of civilized living, with criminality reduced to a minimum.

No one would contradict the statement that it is undesirable for society to permit known criminals to spawn their prototypes. Yet today we are doing nothing to prevent the widespread increase numerically of those portions of our population in which criminality is most prevalent. We know, for example, that criminal behavior is very frequent among the poverty stricken mentally inadequate families that spawn in Chicago's loop district; in fact, it is four times as frequent as among the better homes of Chicago's residential area where the more intelligent educators, members of the professions, and progressive business men raise their smaller families. In one New England city the 5 per cent of the population who are either feeble-minded or of extremely low intelligence have an average of 7.1 children per family (and it is from this group that the bulk of our criminals emerge), while among college graduates the number of children per family ranges from 2.0 to 2.5. This demonstrates in bold relief just how the differential birthrate is now operating to our disadvantage. The percentage of children coming from the finer type homes is now far less than in the past, while the birthrate continues very high among those of inferior intelligence and foresight. Today then, our greatest need sociologically (which means eugenically), is the encouragement of the largest possible percentage of children born and reared in the homes best fitted to develop their character and intelligence, while we so control reproduction that the smallest possible percentage will be born and reared in homes where the parents are unable (because of defective mentality) to provide proper training both intellectually and morally.

More than sixty years ago the data to prove that mankind can be improved by careful eugenic planning was made available through the Oneida Community's "experiment in stirpiculture." But up to the present, we have made very little use of the facts deduced in that classic demonstration of man's capacity for ever higher evolution. In fact, nearly

a century has passed since J. H. Noyes, founder of the Oneida Community, made this remarkable statement in 1849: "We are not opposed to procreation . . . We are opposed to excessive, and of course oppressive, procreation, which is almost universal. . . But we are in favor of intelligent, well ordered procreation. We believe the time will come when scientific combination will be applied to human generation as freely and successfully as it is to that of other animals." As far back as 1880, it was evident to the founders of the Community that by careful choice of parents and by planned spacing of pregnancies, consistently superior human beings could be reproduced.

In 1921 a detailed report on what had happened to the stirpicultural children born to the carefully selected parents during the ten years 1869 to 1879, Dr. Hilda Noyes pointed out that *no deaf and dumb, blind, crippled or idiotic children were ever born in the community*, and further study of the report reveals no instances of hereditary defect. Longevity of these stirpicultural children has proved to be much higher than that of the average population, and no mothers were lost in childbirth. Although no statistics are available on criminal behavior within the group, the very high moral requirements which were requisite to acceptance into the original community, and for continued residence therein, imply that such behavior was minimal.

A careful perusal of the original papers should result in the agreement of any modern thinker with J. H. Noyes' observations, viz: "(1) It would be quite practicable to produce a highly gifted race of men by judicious marriages during several consecutive generations. (2) Human breeding should be the foremost question of the age, transcending in its sublime interest all present political and scientific questions. (3) It is the duty of the human race to improve itself by scientific procreation."

Only a few years later, in 1927, in a careful psychologic research on "Marriage and Propagation Among Criminals" by Milton Erickson, M. A., M. D., the axiom that scientific propagation must become our goal if we are to improve the quality of mankind was reaffirmed. Erickson found that 29 per cent of Wisconsin's criminals were feeble-minded. The astonishingly high percentage of mentally deficient individuals among criminals becomes at once evident when it is recalled that in 1929 the highest estimate of mental deficiency in the population at large was 3 per cent (Terman), although other students estimated the prevalence at 0.5 to 2 per cent. In any case, being conservative, *the ratio of feeble-mindedness among criminals is thus showed to be at least ten times greater than that of the general population* (Erickson estimated it from 13 to 50 times greater!).

It is of the utmost significance that contemporary sociologists, psychiatrists, and psychologists repeatedly confirm these findings, in studies on criminals in other states, although society takes little account of this data in planning for improved quality of our population. Professor Kuhlman found an average of 29.1 per cent of the inmates of Minnesota reformatories were feeble-minded; Anderson in New York concluded that between 27 and 29 per cent of all prisoners were mentally deficient.

After quoting Goddard (who devoted his life to the study of feeble-mindedness) as saying that "*every mentally deficient individual is a potential criminal*," Erickson remarks, "these delinquents with such marked deficiency of intelligence, with their manifest and proved social and moral irresponsibility, after serving their terms are then discharged to free society for which they are unfit socially, morally, and economically, there to reproduce their kind and to continue their contribution to the crime problem! . . . Accordingly *the genetic force of mental deficiency in the production of crime is not to be doubted* . . . Indeed, this evident relationship between mental deficiency and crime intensifies the need of constructive social legislation for the amelioration of the problem of feeble-mindedness and its entailed problem of criminality."

These conclusions are very modestly worded, but they must be construed as referring to the need for the negative eugenic influence which would result from laws in all states permitting sterilization of the feeble-minded, who procreate the bulk of our criminals.

In 1932, Leon Whitney, former Executive Secretary of the American Eugenics Society, in answering the question, "How Can We Cure the Worst Evils of Civilization?", made these pertinent comments: "I have studied the great social forces working for our permanent happiness, and the forces causing the deterioration of man. Certain facts are prophetic: Every year in the United States 1,000,000 abortions are performed; 400,000 children die under one year of age; thousands of mothers die needlessly in childbirth, leaving orphaned children; people suffer untold misery from fear of unwanted pregnancies. The lowest quarter of the population (rated on the basis of social worth) produces half of the next generation; degeneracy, crime, prostitution and its ensuing evils increase and poverty stalks the land. It is small wonder that our annual crime bill is 10 billion* dollars, that we are piling up a mounting invest-

* Prof. Burlingame estimated this crime bill at 15 to 20 billions annually in 1940.

ment in persons who must always be publicly supported, that this economic pressure is causing some of our finest couples to have fewer children than they otherwise would. The remedy in large measure, is birth control. We can't have a better race of men without birth control; we can't cut down on our taxes until the people who make them unnecessarily high cut down on their birth rate; we can't prevent Western civilization from going to pieces by any other means."

Addressing a State Convention of Social Workers in 1935, Professor E. C. Lindeman pointed out, "With the increase in insanity and feeble-mindedness today, we will not have solved one-half of our social problem, unless we begin to do something about prevention. . . *There are now twice as many feeble-minded people as there are students in our colleges!* Simultaneously, Will Durant remarked: "We are going to correct a society that makes criminals. We want the doctor to probe below the symptom of criminality and apply the proper treatment to eliminate the symptom!"

Simultaneously, Commissioner William J. Ellis (New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies) pointed out: "The care of defectives is one of the heaviest and most rapidly increasing tax costs in the State." Meanwhile Anthropologist Hooton remarked, "It seems perfectly clear that the producers of the morons and criminals in our population should stage a sit-down strike on reproduction."

As the years of the twentieth century continue to roll on, nothing comes to light to contradict these opinions of the 1930's, the 1920's, and earlier. In fact, further corroborative evidence came to light so that in "The Conservation of Intelligence" (a résumé of sociologic opinion in 1940), it was concluded that "feeble-mindedness is the scourge of civilization," and it has become axiomatic that "as long as the feeble-minded continue their rapid proportionate increase, civilization must necessarily decline. . . We have available the preventive medical measure which would put a stop to this racial deterioration. . . Human betterment will come about in direct proportion to the number of defectives whom we prevent from procreating, and the only humane and positive method of assuring such a program entails sterilization of the defectives who should not procreate their kind ad infinitum."

The outstanding fact which this study calls attention to is that *the bulk of our criminals are unreformable because of their defective mentality*. Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck showed that 80 per cent of reformatory graduates cannot be reformed, and Dr. Richard Cabot made it clear that we cannot hope to convert feeble-minded criminals into nor-

mal socially desirable members of society. Recidivism occurs chiefly in the feeble-minded. Thus it becomes apparent that we are barking up the wrong tree in spending billions on correctional institutions trying to reform the nonreformable feeble-minded criminals, while we do little to foster the only sociologic measure that will reduce our criminal population (sterilization), by preventing the birth of feeble-minded persons, a large proportion of whom are destined to fill our prisons.

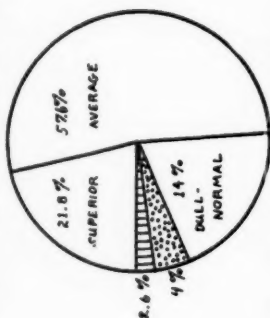
Statistically, Erickson's 1929 study is most convincingly corroborated by the graphic evidence secured by an intensive research carried out on criminals in New York State. Dr. V. C. Branham, who has probably had a broader experience in dealing with defective delinquents than any other living man, in a research reported in 1933, demonstrated as most conservative, Erickson's contention that mental defect is ten times as prevalent among criminals as it is in the general population.

Thus we have once more clearly established through careful research that one of the chief causes of criminal behavior is feeble-mindedness. But of even greater importance is the fact pointed out by Branham, that while 27 per cent of criminals are mentally deficient, an even larger proportion, namely, 32 per cent of criminals, possess only borderline intelligence. This is a most significant fact eugenically as will be noted by a glance at the graph (figure I) which shows that 59 per cent of all criminals are either feeble-minded or borderline. Surely no one could argue that it would be desirable for any of this large number of defectives to procreate their kind! And even more striking is the scientific fact also established by Branham's research that 75 per cent of *women* reformatory inmates are feeble-minded.

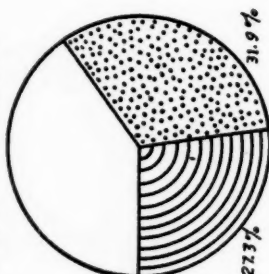
We read in the daily press from time to time, excellent suggestions on how to improve the quality of mankind, but rarely do these progressive ideas, usually the product of the minds of biologists, anthropologists, psychologists or sociologists, reach the stage of government action. Law is usually many years behind the advanced thinking of educators. But in the year 1945 we find one eugenic idea permeating the mind of a legislator. In June 1945, Senator William Langer (R., N. Dakota) introduced a bill in the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, proposing "a bonus of \$500.00 for birth of a baby to parents of one child, \$750.00 to those with two, and \$1,000.00 to those with three or more." This proposal has great merit and would go a very long way in improving mankind, *provided* the financial reimbursement is tied in with positive eugenics. "Bonuses at the birth of children become a suspicious means for population policy as they do not make provision for proper

CRIME AND THE FEEBLEMINDED

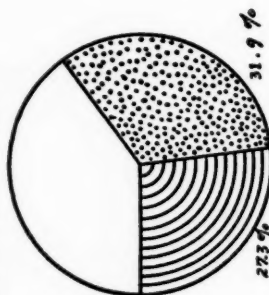
Intelligence Distribution
of the Population at Large



New York State
Prison Inmates



Massachusetts State
Prison Inmates



80% of Prison Inmates are
Under Average Intelligence

59% of Prison Inmates are
Feeble-minded or Borderlines

75% of Women Prison Inmates
are Feeble-minded

 Feeble-minded
  Borderlines

FIGURE I

care during the children's later lives." (Myrdal). To bring this factor into play, it would be necessary to amend Senator Langer's bill somewhat as follows: The payments would be allowable to all parents, both of whom have had the equivalent of a high school diploma or better, or where one parent has a high school diploma and the other parent has had at least one year of high school education. Only in this way would we foster an increased birth rate of average and superior children.

It is my belief that we must eventually go further on this score. Ultimately, humanity in the form of thinking legislators will evolve a law which will make it necessary for both married persons to supply to the proper sociologic government office, a certificate assuring the community that they both have adequate physical and mental characteristics to guarantee average (or better) parentage to their proposed offspring. Only by such a law will we reduce to a minimum the births of persons of inferior caliber, since the known feeble-minded could not secure certificates of parental adequacy, and should they fail to practice birth control, they would be subject to sterilization, or better still, they would be permitted to marry only if sterilized.

Few people yet realize how greatly human progress is hampered by the very mediocre quality of a considerable portion of our population and to an even greater degree by the distinctly inadequate capacity mentally, of the large horde of feeble-minded persons who propagate far more rapidly than their average and superior contemporaries. Our aim must be to educate the mass of humanity that attends parent-teacher meetings all over our country, to this need.

In this program of education we must keep at the forefront two basic principles in the application of birth control to our population if its fullest benefits are to be realized. There must be two methods of application: (1) voluntary; (2) involuntary. We know that the intelligent classes all over the world today have applied birth control measures for many years to their way of life. Perusing any modern book on population policy will prove this to even the most skeptical. And herein is found the basic reason necessitating the application of the involuntary birth control measures (sterilization) since it is well recognized that we cannot educate the feeble-minded to use voluntarily the scientific contraceptive measures known to man. Efforts along this line have been notably unsuccessful as proved by the current statistics pointing to the continued rapid reproduction of defectives (they double their number every ten years) while basic rates of population increase are declining. Yet we must stop reproduction in this group of the unfit if we are to im-

prove our national intelligence currency. In the short span of ten years from 1930 to 1940, while our population was increasing from 120 million to 130 million, the estimates made by sociologists of the total number of defectives in the population rose from 5 million in 1930 to 10 million in 1940. Recognizing that both figures may not be exact, we must nevertheless awake to a full realization of the serious implications involved. If the present rate of increase of defectives continues, in another ten years we will have diluted our anticipated 140 million population with the degenerative effects of an ever increasing proportion of defectives. Thus the defectives in our midst would show the astounding rise from an estimated 3 per cent in 1930, to 7 per cent in 1940, to perhaps 12 to 15 per cent in 1950. What of 1960 when the population would be nearing its estimated stationary level, yet having a continued increase in the proportion of defectives? If no positive steps are taken in the intervening years, we would then have to face the gloomy prospect of 20 to 25 per cent mentally deficient individuals in our population! Could we anticipate social progress under such circumstances, with 75 per cent of the population devoting its efforts to the support of the other 25 per cent who would be either in institutions, or on relief rolls, or subsisting on a life of crime whereby they mulcted the foresighted 75 per cent of untold billions every year. When will we take a positive stand and enact the laws that would stop the progress of this hopelessly gloomy social degeneration?

In recent years, particularly in the flush of victory over Germany, Italy, and Japan assured by the largesse of the United States of America serving as the arsenal of democracy to countries so battered they were unable to manufacture their material, and supplying the manpower wherever it was needed throughout the world to subdue the enemy, we have grown accustomed to the smug belief that most original thinking emanates from the United States of America. But we are often wrong in this regard, and it might be well for us to take account of stock and consider from whence might come some ideas that other countries have found valuable in the improvement of their national economy.

A good look at the social planning which our progressive sister nation, Sweden, has had in force for some years, should make us blush with shame at our backwardness.

Constructive eugenic measures became the law in Sweden through the wise insistence of the Riksdag, which is the equivalent of our Congress. These measures were inaugurated after most careful research had been concluded on the population needs of the nation, both quantitative

and qualitative. The facts have been published in a very excellent treatise on social progress of the twentieth century, entitled "Nation and Family" by Alva Myrdal, a book which presents in most interesting fashion concepts of civilized living considerably in advance of any so far made into law by our own Congress.

Many statements by Myrdal stand out as epoch making and as such are worthy of our scrutiny: "Why Sweden? There is a material reason why Sweden should be the country first to voice concern over population policy since it not only has the lowest crude birth rate among the countries of the world, but also in terms of net reproduction rates, Sweden's position remains at the bottom of the roster. . . The United States is in a different position. . . until lately it has had a very high fertility rate. Thus any concern about replenishing the population has seemed gratuitous. . . An integrated program for a population could therefore be less expected to emerge in the United States.

"... In generalized form the goals for which the Swedish population policy is striving include increased aggregate fertility, more even distribution of children in families, raised living standards for children and improved quality of the population stock, reduced illegitimacy, and more generally available birth control information. . . Improved quality of succeeding generations, and particularly improved growth conditions for children, can be fixed as a goal for the population program. . . To decrease the fertility of mentally deficient people seems to be the minimum formula that will win common approval. . . Birth control means family planning.

"Family planning is the desirable, rational foundation of the whole program of Swedish population policy. . . Due consideration for the goal both of making parenthood voluntary and of timing childbearing in such relation to family conditions as assures best quality will require that birth control techniques be made universally available. . .

"Negative eugenics has its place as a means of population policy in dealing with undesirable parents. In some instances an offspring is so undesirable that even a democratic state will want to enforce limitations of parenthood. The necessity of enforcing a radical elimination of extremely unfit and worthless individuals through sterilization is generally recognized. . . Sterilization should be carried out at public expense.

"The goals of population policy are clear-cut. The monogamous marriage is considered the ideal love relationship between man and woman. . . The official attitude taken in the name of population policy was one that considered individual happiness above everything else. . . An

intelligent adjustment of the size of the family and the spacing of children in accordance with the situation of the individual family, determined by economic, psychological, and health considerations, were specifically encouraged by the Population Commission...Planned parenthood was to be the very foundation of the democratic population policy. Population must become the subject of political discussion everywhere."

Certainly we should all realize that constructive social planning such as is being practiced in Sweden would be desirable for us Americans to emulate. We hear much about planned agriculture and planned economics, but nothing of planned population policy in our fair land today. It would be most encouraging if one could say that politicians in the United States were fully cognizant of the seriousness of our own population problem. Myrdal states that "in January, 1935, when the Swedish Riksdag opened, all the political parties were ready to declare their concern"; and, as a result, the policies heretofore described became planned social policy — the law of the land!

The time will come, probably within a few years, when a certificate of adequacy for parenthood will be necessary from both the man and woman contemplating marriage. When we reach this eugenic stage of sociologic development (let us hope it will be soon), the State will require every boy and every girl about to enter holy wedlock to undergo properly standardized tests to prove that each one possesses at least the minimum intelligence level necessary for attaining an average education for self support, and for nurturing adequately any children who should be procreated.

Further, we will sometime reach that idealistic stage in civilization when, in addition to preventing the procreation of the unfit, we simultaneously foster increased procreation of those persons of superior caliber who can enhance the progress of civilization. When we have consistently in all states, laws that assure the sterilization of known defectives and all carriers of hereditary taint, before they may be permitted to marry, we will at the same time want laws that assure some reward economically to those foresighted citizens of high intelligence who leave on the earth as their descendents more than a sufficient number of children to replace the stock, such as a payment of a subsidy by the government of a regular monthly child wage from birth to age 18 payable to such parents of high caliber for procreating their first child, and then a similar subsidy payable for each succeeding child (up to a total not to exceed five or six children), properly spaced of course through use of scientific contraception. Such a plan for nurturing the desirable best of

each generation for the betterment of the next, would be further enhanced by subsidizing each child who demonstrates a capacity for higher education, a certain amount for each month that is spent in college, after graduation from high school. This would serve as an incentive for the completion of high school, and then make available adequate education to the great majority of our youth who now find college education too expensive to contemplate.

Perhaps in the coming years, if our politicians can be showed that the practice of medicine should remain an individualized science and not become a political football, we may look forward to the day when politicians and physicians may once more sit down in joint conference and work out constructive legislation that will bring about the reforms necessary to insure progressive sociologic improvement in all walks of our society. As this comes into being, the need for criminal behavior as a means of livelihood should decline and the joys of living should expand for the multitude as we move on nearer that not quite attainable goal called Utopia!

New and even more striking population statistics which drive home even more forcefully the need for action throughout the world in the field of Planned Parenthood keep coming to light. In the May 31st, 1948, issue of *TIME*, Sir John Boyd Orr, retiring Director General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization stated: "In the race between population and food supply, population is winning, and we do not know how to stop it. Harvests that would have seemed plentiful ten years ago are inadequate, because *world population has increased almost 200,000,000 since 1939.*"

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130 BELLEVUE AVE.

PROJECTIVE TECHNICS IN THE INVESTIGATION OF THE DELINQUENT MIND

P. LIONEL GOITEIN, M. D.

New York, N. Y.

A. CLINICAL METHODOLOGY

Introduction:—Since earliest times man has employed some form of projective method to get the culprit to "give himself away" (*projicere*) as is to be found, for example, in the ancient Ordeal of Confrontation, when the "laying-on of hands" by blundering or guilty felons do "*make dead Henry's wounds to bleed afresh*," and thereby establish guilt! It is what the "eye for an eye" threat of talion punishment, attempted in biblical times: The sentence was directed only to Conscience, comparable to the identical device to be found in the code of Hammurabi, ("the surgeon's eye is forfeit, if he blunder in his operation"); and it is not without interest that the felon of today, confronted with the modern inkblot ordeal, may fail to detect the (all-seeing) eye in the shadow, easily manifest to others unburdened with his guilt. All forms of law procedure attempt some such screening, through ordeals of this order; whilst modern "lie detectors," if unethical, have at least an ancient lineage of sanction. But the more recent advances in laboratory procedure of the psychologists, have made available for penology a wider range of technics, for the understanding of what goes on in the criminal mind; making for a juster and fuller comprehension of crime itself. It is no longer scientific to attempt to classify men from interview alone (as it is clearly not possible to determine the degree of any repressions at work); nor from the microscopic examination of their hair (or that of their victims), in order to ascribe motives for their conduct, or even to grasp the nature of the "criminal act." Every objective test now in use and capable of interpretative analysis from standardized norms does however give clue to some mental function.

I. *Available Resources in the Field:*—Tests directed to recognition of complex motives of the mind are known as Projective Technics, seeing that the subject, in the performance of the test, "gives-out" something of himself, by "projecting" onto the situation (be it play, selection, or pictorial device, etc.) characteristics peculiar to himself. Such tests divide into two groups: (a) those providing ready-made stimuli (more or less recognizable objects) that become the puppets of a miniature stage for memory function; (b) those that supply only the blank field,

(tray, record, etc.) on which the subject may be induced to project without such suggestive influence. Of the latter group it need only be said that all available unworked material (clean sheet of drawing paper, empty space for acting, or lumps of clay, etc.) provide the pathognomonic vehicle for self expression and for a possible diagnosis by trained observers whence some logical deduction is possible. Of the existing tests, there are four or five worthy of further laboratory employment, though it is admittedly early to hold out too sanguine expectations for the utility of their methods. They are certainly time-saving. These are the electroencephalogram tracing EEG (Davis) and the Thematic Apperception encephalograph tracing EEG (Davis) and the Thematic Apperception Test (Murray), the Inkblot technic (Rorschach) the Draw-a-Man Test (Goodenough), the Ball-and-Field problem (Binet), and the Symbolic Identification Test (Goitein) -nucleus of a larger battery. Each of these has—in different hands—proved of value; each is addressed to a different facet of Personality; each may not necessarily measure the particular function for which it was devised; indeed in the case of Murray, e. g., he held no special diagnostic claim for his test, or that it served other than a useful goad (or probe) to imagination. In this sense, a careful survey of a patient's spontaneous phantasy might in itself obviate the need for such artificial stimulation. The methods, however, are not yet seriously standardized, but have received sufficient critical note in the technical literature; they therefore need only a brief description here, designed rather to draw attention to their possible employment in the field of Criminosis. In any case, they cannot replace the fuller psychiatric and psychologic technics, but may serve to enhance them.

II. *Clinical Material Employed*:—With whom can such test devices be profitably employed, and why do examiners utilize their specific approach? They agree, as a body, in being presentable to *all* classes of the population, e. g., defective or immature, delinquent or enfeebled, deteriorate or degenerate. Only the slenderest cooperation seems to be required, whilst all have the inherent virtue of an intrinsic interest and appeal, that is essential and the optimum criterion of all successful application. It is known that the incarcerated or institutionalized type is notoriously impervious to many intellectual approaches; these listed, however, appear to break down his mental and emotional resistances, so that dependable results capable of interpretation can be obtained. The single exception is the EEG, which is a matter of electrodes applied to a passive patient, in whom no special cooperation is expected; though results of inner turmoil and rage, of threatening storm or repressed *angst*, may

register in its endless graph. All classes of delinquent behavior should be exposed to and are indeed susceptible to the entire series. Owing to their comparative recency, the literature of penology has not so far accorded sufficient differentiating power to the factors emerging from the tests usually employed. We still await for example, Rorschach findings exclusively for arson cases, Murray on forgery cases, EEG on murder cases with essential hypertension, etc., though encouraging preliminary work has already been attempted. The overcoming of that inner resistance to understanding psychologic motive, on the part of the profession, and of the more intentional smoke-screen of dubity put up by the patient, besides acting as corrective to the misdirection and obfuscation of vested interests, is the prime purpose of exhibition of all such test material. Each works outside the roar and tension of the court, and hence is probably in contempt. All may safely be applied, however, when the subject is reassured that the battery is to be carried through confidentially, and no use be made, to his detriment, of anything he says and does. This may well serve the purpose of Justice, without defeating its disciplinary ends, which it may more readily serve. They had best be administered, however, *before* trial or sentence proceedings. In any case, it would be considered today unethical, to use such data for implicating his conscious (social) Self.

III. *New Instruments in Criminal Diagnosis:*—On a different plane are the purely mechanical indexes of mental process, for what may rightly be considered Projective methods. We refer to the use of the psychogalvanometer (vulgarly termed "lie detector") though at most it registers sweat-signs of anxiety as an indicator of *Conflict*, (even in the innocent) and had best be discarded in this connection; the aforementioned encephalogram in the non-neurologic states (of repressed rage and aggression), that may give clue to behavior; also the measurements of handwriting and *parapraxes* that have found each its interpreter, for the psychology of crime; though the methods seem as yet too hazy and unreliable, subjective and uncontrolled for more precise scientific purposes. We omit all reference to anthropometric measures, as nothing is therein betrayed for projection, except perhaps the wisdom of the investigator. However the currents of "cortical projections" (sensitively revealed in the EEG), do invite a correlation with the *Pictorial Projections* in the Rorschach protocols of the same cases. Here again some isolated work has been done. The whole subject however is too foreign an importation in legal investigation, for much work to be anticipated as yet on these lines.

IV. *Projection and Criminosis*:—The rationale for all such measures is, of course, the accessibility of the criminal mind to an exploration that exposes the very core of Personality and is secured by exploiting the phenomenon of mental projection. Thereby he involuntarily betrays aspects of himself and of his motives, that may emerge in no other way, and that (with careful interpretation) throw considerable light on his immoral, illogical or asocial conduct. The criminal is the more ready to project, because—out of an unconscious sense of guilt which demands release—he is impelled to confession, but opposed to its more obvious form. He will however readily lend himself to *indirect* revelations, indeed his many *parapraxes*, if not the Crime itself, are clumsy indicators of this desire, for those with the eyes to see; i. e., he offers restitution thereby, to redress the balance of Conflict. He is like the neurotic, to the extent that *his conduct betrays him*, the word of his unwitting accomplice. The psychopath is thus a ready material for cooperative participation, on humanistic lines.

V. *Motivation in Criminosis*:—The play of motives in the criminotic mind being a highly complex thing, encompassing both protective procedures, reactionary measures, and sometimes neurotic formations, it is very necessary to utilize these special technics to help explain them. Such highly symbolic conduct as Criminality cuts across the entire field of the Instincts, with the aberrations or alienation of libido itself. Here we must discover why antisocial Character manifestations make their appearance, and to this end, any technic which puts us *vis à vis* the determinants of Behavior, or gives us clue to their antecedents is self justified. Does the projection method accomplish this? As has been emphasized the many projections of which the psychopath is capable, are certainly catered-for by the several projective procedures at our disposal, i. e., the mind may, through them, successfully identify with the pseudo-Characters of the miniature World confronting it, in the test problem. Their *motifs* range all the way from Aggressive trends to martyr-like Submission, from Tyranny and Domination to dumb-like amnesia and frustration. Often the complete irrelevance of the *reward* (goal) for his crime in the delinquent, calls for this deeper understanding of his motives; so that the detector method, in encouraging free phantasy or stimulating associations, does provide the very guidance we need, certainly where the urge to confess (see above) is of average strength. Now some typical release phenomena emergent from use of tests are these: illicit Gratification, Hostility to denying objects, Withdrawal of pleasure, or a recreating in the situation of some opportunity for passive violence or tyr-

annic Martyrdom, etc. The Thema is in any case clear. From the psychologic angle of neurotic *guilt*, we may now know how (for example) the Mass-Murderer labors under a veto against ipsation, how the perverted *Fellatio* case struggles against breast frustration, how the Assaultive or cut-throat defends himself against illicit love, or the Extortionist gains his orgasmic release by exacting his toll (seed), etc.; in addition to the "secondary gain" from sadistic rites, through discomfiture in the victim, and whose Libido ends are herein obvious. Every protocol on the Rorschach and Murray, etc., is a human documentary, and should be scanned for such evidences, over and above their prime purpose. Each case has to be studied separately.

B. PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS

I. *Conflict and Instinctual Repression*:—The colorful appeal, successfully utilized by the tests we are about to describe, also their pictorial draw, belongs primarily to the realms of phantasy, so that they can be trusted to bring out the more puerile strains in human conduct and dream; without minimizing the veneer of conscious elaboration and craftiness in the Minds carrying out this intent. The subject in the manifest experiment builds his story, (rather than his compensatorial planings), upon the *same* processes or procedures that inform his deeper mind. What the hero in the picture is doing, he does, what the equivocating shadow means to him, is its meaning for his Unconscious. His intentions may be clear for the act itself, yet in conflict about carrying them out. But here in the tests the moral objections are in abeyance. It is always to the sources of the conflict that we must go for its amelioration. Now it is reasonably certain, that where instinctual drives are inherently strong, or restraints unequal to their task, Society is called upon to provide that restraint. And here the criminal *acts as if courting punishment* or isolation. Others again are struggling against a too powerful repression, so that even the legitimate strivings of instinctual desire fail to be satisfied. The frustration, etc., experienced, demands from the forces of law and order not really a throttling but an exorcism of the inhibitory force, so that the patient often prefers the lax punitive measures of the law to the unwavering tyranny of his own Conscience. This too is manifest in the test results. Such a play of motives in the field of instinctual repression has to be understood in our comprehension of Crime. It will be no less evident in the miniature *life-drama*, provided by new available resources at hand. The psychiatrist's mode of observation and interpretation is however still requisite, to prevent any of these being

misused. There are, at present, no self-interpreting tests. The Rorschach approaches closest to a statistically-valid claim, through advances in correlation that can now hypothecate specific *responses* as related to specific *traits*, also personality affects along with trends of Character, as related to certain mental organizations.

II. *Artifacts in the Mechanics of Criminosis*:—It is of import to realize the facade of disconcerting and misinterpreted conduct masquerading as crimes of violence of varying complexity, the result of emotional antecedents in the individual himself—protective devices designed rather to shield the sensitive ego from unbearable tensions (however hard-boiled it may appear in reality), or to work off some imaginary vendetta that in truth is directed to tyrannic figures of its own Unconscious. There are nefarious ways gone into by psychopaths for the sole purpose of subterfuge and screening devices in the ventilating of spite, wrath or terror, merely neurotic artifacts for a redressing of the balance of their own inadequacy. Psychopathic behavior is clinically morbid rather than ethically reprehensible, precisely because it deviates from normal adaptation modes—the subject of “misleading cases” of the Law. These require investigation and diagnosis for their own rehabilitation and betterment, that repressive measures only serve to aggravate. The whole situation in terms of the instinctual life has to be known, before we brand the criminal or his mind, and it is to such ends that Projective measures blaze the way, for the designs and patterns of Conduct can thus easily be ascertained. A warning must be sounded against accepting any emergent as decisive motive for his conduct in view of this wide range of obfuscating modes affected of intent by deranged minds.

III. *Cooperation and Projection by the Unconscious Mind*:—Whereas some cooperation is needed, on the part of the subject’s reality self (his conscious mind) this may be of the slenderest, for the successful employment of any projective battery or test. It is in the last analysis his unconscious cooperation they are designed to elicit, as evident in the emergent features of the test. Indeed the value of the test is directly proportional to its capacity to tap these unwitting resources of mind, and even with the presence of highly suggestive material, it requires skilled interpretation to evaluate the results as too often the tester is blind to their implication. No test is self explanatory. Perhaps the Thema analysis goes furthest in providing detector pointers, though it has small corroboration. Thus any diagrammatic instrument has to be used with extreme caution.

IV. *Biologic Groups Suggested by Tests*:—A wealth of information thus far has accumulated, which profitably extends its explanation over the entire field of Crime, and enough to justify a reclassification in the light of biologic law. It detects the meaning and purpose behind social insult, and the determinants beneath most senseless mob violence.

The body of such tests, ranging from Mosaics and Step Designs, to blocks and equivocal Pictures, also from Blots and Outline drawings to selective series of Art works, is here used for the intent of measuring the deployment of field forces within the personality with respect to its inner complexes; the nature of the criminal act first being known. It is profitable in this connection to speak of Assertive crime, Aggressive crime, Autistic crime, etc., rather than the descriptive (arson, larceny, sodomy, mugging, etc.) when the term tells us nothing of the "act" itself. Five main groups stand out from the mass of clinical material used for such tests, and obeying the developmental laws of their technical origin, viz., assertive, acquisitive, autistic, animative and abstractive Behavior respectively, (terms are self explanatory); involving the respective urge to aggrandize, burglarize, cendiarize, demoralize and eonize (execrate); i. e., these form the perversions based on the *primary* levels, respectively of the oral, anal, urethral, gonadal and somatic phases. It might even be necessary to subdivide each according to whether a respective need for masochism, sadism, narcism, erotism and realism in Libido were the more prevalent tendency. Finally a further subgrouping of each could still be provided, (according to degree of social function); but it is here enough to indicate that such a classification (A to E) represents *biologic* issues from which all social conduct stems. The present contributor has not seen this aspect of the problem in Personality stressed. Take for example, the urge to assaultive crime, involving the perpetrator in use of sharp weapons, fire-arms, power instruments, cutting tools and penetrative objects. Each may stem from a totally different impulse and satisfy a totally different symbolic press; yet it is safe to say that most cases of "hold-up", cut throat, threatening attitude of crimes of violence derive from simple mechanisms of oral aggression; and the police usually make an arrest on the one charge. The same act is seen at its simplest in the infant who bawls and shrieks in an effort to blackmail his environment into submission, and it usually succeeds; in the child who points a finger at you and says "boo;" up to the gangster or "finger-man" who points and mutters "up with them;" yet the trigger-finger is simply symbolic of something itching for sexual assault, (although it may not comfort the victim much at the time to know that). And so for

other levels of release in oralistic behavior of this order; also for the other orifices named.

V. *Clinical Groupings Employed*:—For convenience of all users of such tests, it is here proposed — following on the lines of previous experimental work — and in the light of the psychiatric interview, to classify the criminal personality on a more clinical basis, and to offer the chief departments of morbid conduct in keeping with the more detailed findings elsewhere in research. The comparative ease of handling and their proximity to deeper motives for crime, is the justification for suggesting a wider acceptance, relating to the study of projection tests. Such psychopathic behavior will divide into *Acrophilia* among those with the desire to use sharp instruments in the satisfaction of oral-assertive trends, from the exhibiting of the satisfying symbolic Object (nipple); *Kleptophilia*, with the desire toward acquisitive gain; satisfaction of anal-aggressive trends, from filching of satisfying objects (anus); *Pyrophilia* (or *hydrophilia*), with the desire to cinerate, the “burning passion” from a satisfaction of urethral-narcistic trends, in symbolic burning or scalding of the gratifying object (urethra); *Skopophilia*, with desire to rape or prostitute the person, satisfying genital-erotistic trends from seizing the attractive object (gonad); *Homophilia* with the desire to degrade the person, satisfaction of somatic-realistic trends from an inversion of psychic role (total soma). It may here be added that *negative* components of the above instincts give us further behavioral classes corresponding rather to Neurosis (phobias) which fill our asylums rather than our prisons, e. g., *acrophobia* is intense fear of Aggression (found in melancholics); *kleptophobia* terror of being abducted, stolen, spirited away (found in obsessionals), *hydrophobia* (among enuretics and fire and water scare), etc. The tabulation of all such classes can now be attempted.

C. EMERGENT MATERIAL

I. *Aggressive Features (EEG)*:—Aggressive features in the repressed elements of instinctual sadistic trend (wrath, discontent, vindictiveness, or anger-storm), can be diagnosed by this instrument, through their causing tension in cerebral fields, also the working-up of temperstorms of repressed rage, turmoils usually indicated in the neural tracing of the EEG potentials. Some work on repressed epileptic storm (or its strong “equivalents” as seen in crimes of violence) as well as certain delinquent behaviors (Davis) and responses to painful stimuli in the EEG bear out this contention, viz., that the EEG is a projective mode for in-

dicating suppressed aggression. Further Mira's work on the Affective states (depression), also Kasanin's work on Dissociation states (conceptions) is suggestive in this connection.

II. *Documentation of Libido Life (Murray)*:—The released phantasy content, consequent on verbal or visual stimulus, bears tribute to the efficacy of adequate equivocal and suggestive figures, for the emergence of intrapsychic complexes in the resolution of instinctual conflict, indeed of all the affective situations back of crime. There is no prescribed formula, but the advances made in the set-up, make for optimal use of his diagnostic criteria, e. g., of Press, Thema, etc., involved; i. e., it is not standardized, but is surely a valuable addition to our armamentarium.

III. *Neuroticism and Instability (Rorschach)*:—The typical features of psychopathic personality, as also the disintegrative trends of the normal criminal, may find some indicator in the specific responses to inkblot diagnostics. No correlation has yet been established for the biologic subgroups above listed. It awaits in this connection further standardization and testing out, but seems a promising tool for research in the penal field. Perhaps the unwieldy quality of its original setup, its subjective evaluation and the difficulty in interpreting protocols, as also the play of vitiating factors such as Conflict, low IQ, repression, etc., may militate against a fuller usage.

IV. *Modes of Expression (Binet, etc.)*:—A small group of valuable personality indicators is to be found in the unselected battery of performance tests that lend themselves to projective device and interpretative correlation with the biologic groups concerned. All may have been devised with a different purpose in mind; they are to be found as problems among the so-called Performance and Intelligence tests, but can be lifted out of their context. In this connection, the Ball-and-Field problem of Binet, the Draw-a-Man problem of Goodenough, the Mosaic problem of Lowenfeld, have all lent themselves, in skilled hands, to diagnostic interpretations through the self projection implicit in the tests. Thus the Goodenough problem (used also by Burt, for intelligence) is the spontaneous outline drawing and recognition of traits can be determined, e. g., of cerebral deterioration (Bender), homosexuality (Geil), mania, etc. (Goitein), schizoids, etc. (Zimmerman); whilst the distortions of the character-trends manifest in the "body-model" can be discovered by the same means (Schilder). We have used it for diagnosing compulsives and hysterics also. Next the Ball-and-Field results reveal, in no un-

certain way, the characteristic mode of the subject, be he obsessive, paranoid, hysteroid, etc., for a typical drawing *pattern* (we have found) is forthcoming for each. The Mosaic game of childhood lends itself to personality-testing, and Lowenfeld has nicely indicated how conflict imbalance, dejection, deficiency and insecurity are betrayed. Homburg permits the arranging of miniature situations with toys, as a guide to unconscious conduct. Every analyst employs the child's Toy World arrangement with similar intent. All these reveal the symbolic tools of instinct, whose phantasy *output* marks the constellation of ideas within; and each serves thereby as a *Personometer* or index of more or less exact functions of Self; only the readings require careful interpretation. In any case it is the repressed content (vanity, aggression, dejection, martyr trait, etc.) that emerges, and no less the broader psychiatric trends (cyclothymia, etc.). Szondi's test is directed to these ends.

V. *Personality Patterns* (Goitein):—We have applied, with some measure of success, a battery of tests, centering on projective methods (one more detailed than the rest: Symbolic Identification), which offers a ratio between personality components, expressed according to the libido forces and counter charges involved. The five problems (selective choice on pictorial lines) permit of a measure of Ego strength in its various aspects (of id, superego, etc.). Its value was primarily demonstrated in the deployment of field-forces at work in a Neurosis at a given moment, along with their interplay or imbalance, also in normals where particular stresses in the psyche might be ascertained. The battery is essentially projective and objective in scope. It succeeds in tapping the resources of personality, whether this be warped or inverted, deficient or aberrant, psychopathic or psychotic. No known method caters for this measure of merged currents composing the libido stream; it is suggestive only. The instrument of precision consists essentially of a specially devised pack of art cards, color portraits of standard selection, also a series of Annular devices of varied design, and some equivocal figures pseudo-symbolic chosen, for their selective appeal, their stimulus to associative response and general wieldiness in handling. From laboratory usage, it is possible to state the S's position on a 5-point scale, (A to E) for each problem. These have been the subject of separate discussion elsewhere. Now as each caters for that special aspect of Personality it is designed to measure and elucidate, the experimenter obtains qualitative estimate of the chief aspects of Ego, here called for convenience, *infra-supra-ipsi-contra-* and *ultra-* Egos respectively, but capable of precise defining. As an example, when there is obtained a reading of BBBBBB personality, it

marks the Obsessional Neurotic, but Test can record instead ABCDE, a personality of different balance; or EDCBA, etc., cases wherein the *direction* of excess of function (e. g. in id or superego) can instantly be perceived. Such technical aspects of an admittedly difficult presentation are reserved for separate treatment. This is thought to mark an advance in projective technics, in that science now may have a ready quantification of Personality for all types of men, whose potentials and character traits, also general propensities and limitations in manner and habit can thus be deduced. Its impersonal objective study and bent, makes it the more readily adaptable to clinical needs. On these lines, and with the opportunity for vigorous research in the pertinent fields, some helpful data, criticism and redaction will gradually emerge in the scientific study and treatment of delinquency.

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THE SEX QUESTION
(FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF A METAPHYSICIAN)

JOHN R. ERNST, M.D., F.A.P.A.*

Washington, D. C.

Down through the ages the subject of sex has been one of paramount importance: the desire to understand and to adjust one's self to the demands of this common urge has occupied the attention alike of both the superficial and the profound. From the most remote periods of antiquity, we perceive that sex has been closely interwoven with all attempts to solve the "mystery of the kingdom of God;" which should occasion no surprise when we become aware of the infinite principle that lies behind the veil of this universal manifestation. To anyone familiar with the subject of symbolism, it is very evident that the cross of the Christian Church (and especially the cross with the interlaced circle) remains as but a fragmentary inheritance from the ancient forms of so-called phallic worship. Aside from the fact that Christian *theology* is, in the main, a hodge-podge of ideas garnered from the ends of the earth, it is not at all strange, since having its inception in an age of gross sensuality (the decadence of the Roman Empire), that Christian mystics, seeing the subverting of this cosmic urge into mere forms of physical pleasure and lustful gratification, should give vent to their revulsion by depicting the Son of God (spiritual man) as crucified upon the conventional form of the phallus.

Let it be understood, however, that these early forms of phallic worship are not to be so superficially interpreted as has been the custom of modern writers on the subject: rather, they were attempts at reducing the omnipresent activity behind the manifested universe to a simple, comprehensible idea. What then, in the light of modern scientific deductions, could have been more indicative of the inherent wisdom of these ancient philosophers than that they should have hit upon the evolutionary processes of germination and reproduction as symbolic of the infinite creator? That they should have chosen the conventional phallus as a concrete reproduction of this universal idea behind all the diversity of Nature, is no reason for supposing that they were mere worshipers of sex in the accepted sense of modern commentators. Such may also be said of the Fire-worshippers, or Sun-worshippers (which is the sig-

*Written in collaboration with a former patient who wishes to remain anonymous.

nificance of the name "Sol-amen" — "amen" being of Egyptian origin and signifying wisdom) who, seeing life spring into activity at certain periods of the year, read in the incandescent rays of the sun the universal life-giving quality. That even this was intimately bound up with the subject of sex, is not difficult to see when we realize that even today, in poetic allusion the world over, the sun is referred to as masculine while his rival luminary still retains her feminine designation. In Egyptian theology, this idea is brought to its height in the triune conception of Isis, Osiris and Horus; in which we see Osiris, the receding sun, sinking into the arms of Isis, the goddess Night or the passive season, only to reappear the following morning (or season of fecundation) as Horus, his own son. Thus we see in their allegory, a recognition of the interaction of the two principles — the passive ever remaining the same, unchangeable, immutable; the active, through its apparent acclivity and declivity, forever reproducing itself. Even in the pantheon of the Greeks, we read the perpetual struggle of the human ego with its own emotions.

With the advent of Christian theology, growing as it did out of the Judiac reverence of all things masculine, we find the influence of Egyptian thought distorted into a ludicrous picturization of this inherent principle of fecundation, generation and manifestation as three masculine beings! That of recent years there has been an attempt by the Roman church to rectify this mistake is evident in the gradual ascension of the Virgin Mary to a position of unrivaled importance. Forgetting the theologic myth, it is easy to see in the representation of a symbol for the passive principle, the Supernal Mother, who, though giving birth to the manifested universe, remains unchangeable, "ever-virgin."

The subject of sex, however, has not been confined to mere philosophic speculation although it was not until recent years that any serious attempt was made to rescue it from the realm of the unspeakable into which it had been cast by the Judaeo-Christian misinterpretation of the Adamic "fall." It was not until the advent of Freud and Jung that a new interest was developed in the subject and light was thrown upon its proper functioning as a prime factor in not only the happiness of the individual, but also in his health and therefore in his ability to cope successfully with the problem of living. It would seem then that with the problem of sex rationalized and solved, all other problems would be worked out automatically or relegated into a limbo of lost desire.

The desire to be and the desire to perpetuate one's self have received such a thorough exposition at the hands of Freud and Jung that they

hardly need further comment except to draw attention to the fact that the first supposition is as intimately an inherent factor in the subject of sex as is the second — i. e., the two great primitive instincts, as set forth by Freud, and which are the parents of all other desires and ambitions, are in reality a dual expression of the one urge. To appreciate this we must go to the very essence of existence, itself.

Whence comes this desire to be? Whence comes this desire to perpetuate? At this point the biologist must stop; he has reached a place where he can no longer weigh and measure by the same standards heretofore used; he has reached a plane where he must weigh in a mental balance and measure with the meter of logic. It should occasion no surprise nor particular alarm that an investigation of the sex problem might take him into the realm of abstract ideas, for we find that the most advanced theories of physics and chemistry have already entered that transcendental realm.

Just as it remained for the mathematician, who perpetually works in the realm of abstract ideas, to point out to the astronomer the inevitable existence of certain solar planets, which were undiscovered at that time — giving him the approximate location at a given time as a basis upon which to work; and to point out to the chemist the inevitable existence of certain elements as yet unknown — giving him the valence and approximate specific gravity to assist in his findings; so it has remained for the metaphysician, again working in the realm of the abstract, to point out the way to the physician who, in his laboratory, can weigh, measure, classify and prove.

With the arrival of the era of modern scientific investigation and its subsequent blowing-up of the theologic bulwark, it was only natural that in the rhythmic ebb and flow of events, the tide must sink to the low level of dogmatic rejection of all things which could not be apprehended by the five senses before it could come to rest at its proper level or balance. An age of blind faith is always followed by an age of equally dogmatic skepticism until the two forces are brought into a state of harmony by investigation and understanding. This is the law of rhythm operative upon the mental plane; for, like the pendulum, it must swing through both segments of its arc until the two opposing forces are neutralized at a point of perfect coordination. While it has remained for the physical scientist to reduce some given proposition to a simple mathematical equation, it is the business of the metaphysical scientist to take that calculation and observe an equally exact application upon the mental, emotional and spiritual planes. As science continues its explor-

ations into the realm of the abstract, it will be found that here is even more rigid adherence to the laws of the phenomenal universe than is witnessed in the realm of the concrete.

Until recent years, the physical scientist, encompassed by his own orthodoxy of the concrete universe being the ultimate cause of all things, has given birth to many theories which, though apparently supported by sublime facts, are not only erroneous, but highly amusing; however the past decade has seen the whole realm of physics quietly but safely ushered into the transcendental realm of metaphysics. The atom, that hitherto impregnable unit of the whole materialistic concept, has finally been explained by innocently explaining away its whole physical existence! With the crumbling of the atom, the whole position of physics was completely reversed; it became an indisputable fact that if an atom could be explained as being a "point of force" or "certain rate of vibration of the ether," then force must not be the result but the cause of the atom and therefore the cause of the concrete universe. By that admission, the whole materialistic concept, together with the whole biologic concept, passed into the scrap-heap, along with theology, dodo birds and celluloid collars! When the founder of the Christian Scientist movement tried, in her weak way, to put forth the same idea, her statement that "matter does not exist" was laughed to scorn by the very ones whose recent findings have verified the statement. Thus it is in the process of living, that we give accounting "for every idle word."

To further augment the position held by metaphysics, the latest scientific pronouncement is that "we seem to be living upon the surface of some infinite mind." Why "upon the *surface*." With the vast expanse of a perfectly ordained universe spread out before them, the movements of which can be calculated in seconds, the only amazing thing about the admission is that it has taken great minds so long to arrive at a simple conclusion! If then, in reducing matter to force, and admitting that that force is an intelligent force, agreeing to its universal presence (ether) has the physical scientist not definitely committed himself to the position that mind is the one force in the universe? Is it not evident that what we call life, in all its multifarious forms, is but the evolution of that force? And by its finding, has not science proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the existence of "God"? If this is not perfectly obvious already, a little resumé of the qualities attributed to "ether" should be convincing.

First, while it cannot be weighed or measured, seen or felt, it permeates all things; it is universally present as the foundation of, therefore

the creator of, all things in the phenomenal world. This, metaphysically, has been expressed as the universal parent, or "Father, in which we live and move and have our being."

Second, this universal substance, being potential force, becomes all force or energy — Omnipotence.

Third, this force, manifesting inherent intelligence, becomes infinite in its scope, combining all knowledge or science, which has been metaphysically expressed as Omniscience. [In further support of this, if we reason back from effect to cause, we find that the oak tree was potentially present in the acorn, else it could not have been brought into manifestation—a fact which is easily discernible in the bean or peanut. Now, if we take the ultimate unit in the evolutionary scale (Man, as we presently perceive it to be) by the same process of reasoning, we have to admit that that First Cause — that something which started everything — must have contained potentially everything that Man has been, is, or ever will become. That "there is nothing new under the sun" becomes a more profound statement than is generally acquiesced. As Man is essentially intelligent, we perceive that this First Cause must have been likewise and that Man has actually been made in the "likeness of God."]

Fourth, as this potential intelligence becomes active or aware, it produces the manifestation of selectivity, resulting in the processes of metabolism, the evidence of which we refer to as life. This dynamic action, then, becomes universal existence or being. Metaphysically this has been expressed as Omnipresence — all presence, being or life.

Fifth, its power of selectivity, of attraction and repulsion, corresponds exactly to what we know about love, realizing that love also exhibits bipolarity.

It will be seen that the great difference between physical science and metaphysical science is mostly one of nomenclature; whatever other differences seem to exist, will disappear under rational observation. To rationalize and therefore unify all thought, should be our chief objective.

Digressing for a moment, long enough to look at the Biblical account of the creation as set forth in the first chapter of Genesis, we find that activity and order began when God gave the command, "Let there be light." While "spiritual things must be spiritually discerned," it needs no unusual perceptive gift to see that the order of creation coincides quite well with the accepted evolutionary sequence. What difference if the word "day" is used instead of "eon" — may not what appears as an eon to our relative consciousness, be but a day, a second, or nothing at

all to the consciousness in which all things are? However, in the sixth era, there was created Man "in the image" (or the imaging faculty) of God and "after his likeness," or possessing his own attributes. (Now let it be noted here that one of the chief differences between Man and the lower order is that not only is he aware, but he is conscious of his awareness. The same idea is expressed as God saying of himself, "I am that I am." I shall hereafter refer to this as self-consciousness.) That this "creation" does not refer to the phenomenal universe is evident when we read in the second chapter, "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens, and every plant of the field before it was in the earth and every herb of the field before it grew for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth and there was not a man to till the ground." A little later we read that "the Lord God *formed* Man of the dust of the ground."

We see, then, that the "creation" is purely a mental process, which takes place in the imaging faculty and that the "forming" is quite another thing. Something else to which I would call attention is that the creating was done by "God" (the infinite life principle) while the forming was done by the "Lord God" (the individualized life principle). While this is the reverse of the biologic concept, we perceive that it must be true.

In the first place, I hardly think anyone would deny that preceding every undertaking there must be a formulated plan or idea; and secondly, that antedating every plan or idea there must be a mind. That the conceiver precedes his conception is axiomatic: what we need see is that a law which is universal must have universal application — i. e., it must operate with as much certainty upon the mental, emotional and spiritual planes as upon the physical. If we are to take the entire physical universe as a unit and reason back to that one remote First Cause which started everything upon its career of manifestation, we must admit that, like the acorn containing the potential oak, this first life principle, or "germ," must have contained the potentialities of everything that has been, is now, or ever will be (And here let me qualify the use of the word "germ" — I use it in the sense of being, i. e., something which desires to be and to become and to perpetuate, regardless of the physical organism through which it is seeking expression.) Beginning with this first germ, it is very evident, judging from the vast and diversified panorama of nature, that it must have given existence to millions of generations of others of its kind, which, by the law of heredity, must have contained the exact potentialities of its original parent.

As the idea of spontaneous generation has long since been discarded, we find that these germs must each be slowly evolving out the inherent plan. While the Darwinian theory cognizes the evolutionary process upon the physical plane, it has failed to grasp the idea that evolution is an innate process and that in order for one of these germs to have attained the present human consciousness, it must have begun its manifestation upon the very lowest rung of the ladder and step by step have mounted the scale of evolution through all forms of inorganic and organic life. Realizing, then, that each of these germs is capable of infinite expansion of the inherent plan, we readily perceive the truth uttered by the Apostle John when he said, "Beloved, NOW are we the sons of God and it doth not yet appear what we shall become." The same truth must have thrust itself upon the consciousness of the poet Nietzsche when he proclaimed man as but a Bridge over which he, himself, was travelling toward the superman. Again, in the words of Jesus, we find the same thought when, becoming conscious of the infinite life principle within himself, he openly declared, "The Father and I are one," yet at the same time quoting the Jew's own scriptures to support their own divinity, "I said, Ye are gods." Substituting the word "subconscious" or "unconscious" for "Father" we see a great psychologic truth revealed in the statement, "I of myself do nothing; it is the Father who doeth the works."

Just as generation is in the germ of life principle, so is evolution, and it is this germ or life principle which we call spirit. From that first dawn of consciousness, wherein God is pictured as saying, "I am that I am," this life principle has been manifesting itself upon higher and higher planes of being. Spirit, being the motivating principle, its growth in self consciousness (or awareness of its innate powers and potentialities) becomes a driving force which impels it ever onward and upward. It then becomes evident that the greatest development of the individual comes through self contemplation rather than through academic learning, which thing oftentimes clouds the mental vision. Genius never manifests through a pedantic mind!

As has been proved, thought is capable of making an impression on sensitized photographic plates, showing that in thought there must be actual substance. If thought is substance, may not our bodies be merely mind-stuff which takes form according to the conceptions held in the life principle? ("As a man thinketh in his heart — or 'subconscious' — so is he.") And may we not learn someday to sustain ourselves directly from the ether? And may that not be the essence of the thought of

Jesus when he taught implicit reliance upon the all-pervading, all-sustaining and infinite Presence?

Normal creative thought, according to photographs, registers movement according to the law of the spiral — which thing, we have already observed, is one of the great natural laws. Picture then in this infinite sea of mind great spiral streams of thought-substance and we have worlds and solar systems and the universe held, not by magnetic laws, but by the centrifugal and centripetal forces of these vortices. Thus we can partake of the sublime vision of St. John when he proclaimed that the worlds were formed by the Word of God! When we begin a study of life as a cause and not an effect, when we see that mind is the creator and not a biologic result, we shall not only understand the real nature of Man, but we shall know the Cosmic Being as well, for the Macrocosm and the Microcosm are identical in constitution.

It is apparent that evolution becomes a growth in self consciousness — i. e., a recognition of some new potentiality. To illustrate: a child is born with the power to use his hands; but until they come to his attention, he does not attain to mastery over their use. Thus the inherent plan gradually unfolds itself to our vision (which must necessarily be step by step) in the form of desire. When to this is added a confident expectation of the desired result—which thing is what constitutes “faith” — manifestation is bound to occur. And let it here be noted that every man who perceives this potentiality in his desire and keeps his “eye single” to that vision, always arrives at its fulfillment. Therefore it has become proverbial that perseverance will win over any obstacle.

Just as physics was forced to accept the nonexistence of matter as an eternal verity and chemistry has been forced to accept the alchemical theory of transmutation (due to the discovery of uranium and radium), so is biology faced with the necessity of abandoning its first premise. Until it accepts the viewpoint that the animating principle is the motivating cause and not a biologic outgrowth, the art of therapeutics must remain a variable quantity and its reduction to a science an evanescent dream! It can be proved by positive mathematical calculation that 2 times 2 equals 5, which is done through the use of “o,” the symbol for “nothing,” the basis of the error lying in the fact that there is no such thing as “nothing” — even “Nature abhors a vacuum.” Moreover, it will be seen that in using the above equation as a basis for raising 2 to its nth power, the farther we carry our calculations, the greater is going to be the error. The same is true of biology: starting out upon a false assumption, it is getting nowhere rapidly — which probably accounts for the fact that in

two of the leading hospitals of this country they confess to being wrong in 52 per cent of their diagnoses! That is a startling confession of incompetency and, being true, what must be the percentage of guesswork among the ordinary laymen of the profession?

If for no other reason than for its pretentious humanitarianism, biology must reverse its position instead of continuing to entrench itself behind a constantly enlarging array of legal enactments. Following the inane example of old theology, it has attempted to bolster up its faulty conceptions and protect itself from the ravages of a critical cross-examination by taking refuge behind the law. That it cannot other than come to grief, as in the theologic experiment, does not seem to enter into the minds of those who sponsor it. As to their genuine altruism, I have no misgivings and I concede the same degree of honesty to the theologian no matter how erroneous his conclusions may have been. I have no malice toward anyone, realizing that every man expresses himself according to his conceptions, but when we look at the world about us, we cannot other than bear the burden of conviction that there is a great demand for the inculcation of higher ideals.

As experience is the only teacher, it becomes evident that existence is a matter of education — not the education, however, that would pour into the consciousness facts which may be of no importance or consequence in the evolution of the individual, but rather a serious contemplation of the inherent principle and a molding along those lines. We are coming to recognize this in recent years by allowing the individual to select his own vocation rather than forcing him into a groove for which he has neither desire nor aptitude. The same should take place in every department of life; for any restrictive measure, whether repression or suppression, is bound to produce a deleterious effect on the life of the individual. Arresting the processes of evolution always prepares the way for revolution!

To return to the theme, it is evident that as the inherent plan unfolds to the consciousness of the individual, it is met by succeeding changes in the physical organism. That there should have been no great and startling changes in the physical constitution of the race since its recorded history, is of little or no consequence when we consider that its history at 10,000 years back is very fragmentary and that the appearance of Man on the earth has been set at approximately 5,000,000 years. What we have to perceive is that with life on this planet going back to probably 500,000,000 years or maybe more, it has taken these germs of life, infinite eons of time, to reach their present state of evolution. Perfection

exists in the infinite plan inherent in each of these germs; imperfection results from imperfect comprehension of the plan. The builder who cannot comprehend the plan given him by the Great Architect, can hardly be expected to reproduce a perfect likeness!

As it is evident, by analysis, that this first germ of life must have been bipolar, it is equally apparent that each of its offspring must, by the law of heredity, have been endowed with the same characteristics, that the life principle of each person, *per se*, must contain the potentialities of both sexes. (In a physical way, this has been recognized by certain observers who have seen it in the mammary and prostate glands in man and in the clitoris and labia majora in women.)

It must be admitted, then, that a perfect reproduction of the perfect plan includes the equal development of both sexes in the one person. This fact was recognized by the Greeks in their "divine marriage," a thing which Christian theology prostituted into the "holy bonds of matrimony." This was also expressed by the Greeks in their divine "Hermaphrodite," Apollo, who was represented as the perfection of bodily grace and beauty. Here in the word of "hermaphrodite" we see the union of Hermes, or Wisdom, with Aphrodite, or Love, the expression of which is perfection and beauty.

It is also obvious, contrary to the biologic notion, that Nature is not working toward greater diversity, but toward greater unity. The swing, however, is from unity through diversity and back to unity. That the human race has entered an era of greater unity is evident in every department of life. Aside from the economic aspect in which we see the trend toward great and more powerful units, in political life where we see opposing parties absorbing and assimilating ideas from their opponents, and in the trend of religious organizations toward unity with others, it is also very evident that there has been a great rapprochement of the two sexes. For example, the present popular conception of what constitutes a "red-blooded he-man" would hardly have sufficed for our ancestors of even a few generations ago; and the present generation of women would have been decidedly out of vogue in their grandmother's time. Every one seems loathe to accept the new order of things for what it betokens: on the one hand we have anathemas and imprecations the predictions of dire calamity while on the other we have a fanatical and religious adherence to the physical aspect of this New Freedom.

Too many are prone to approach the facts of life in "fear and trembling," which thing has never yet produced a justifiable opinion. Before we can arrive at an equitable solution to the problem of existence, which

is the ultimate factor in all philosophic reasoning, scientific investigation and commercial enterprise, we have to unblind our eyes to the unalterable truth by discarding every iota of crass sentimentality. Human nature is very orthodox, it must have its anchorage: it hates the fluidic state of consciousness, preferring to crystallize its thought and grow "old" in its crystallization, whereas, a maintaining of the fluidic state would produce mental and physical vigor and longevity. In this, biologists are no exception. If a fact appears which is out of harmony with the biologic conception, it is dismissed as a "freak of nature" or is explained away by a process of false reasoning.

Another great indication of the development of the rudimentary sex in Man is the *widespread* and *pronounced* appearance of homosexuality. A reversion to the primitive, say some; a morbid heredity, say others; an early fixation of the libido, is the last word! Potiphar's piffle, all of it! That homosexuality should have no place in the biologic scheme is no reason to suppose that it has no place in the infinite plan: because biology has found no explanation in its own catechism, is no cause for believing that it has appeared without a reason and is therefore abnormal. The early appearance of comets within our range of vision was usually attended by general hysteria until someone discovered that they too were subject to the same inexorable laws of order that govern the rest of the universe. Could anything appear in the evolutionary process which is not inherent in that process? No more than an acorn could produce a human being, or Man give birth to an oak! Everything which exists in the vast panorama of the phenomenal universe is normal. It is not our business to execrate it, but to study it, explain it and adjust our conceptions, if necessary, to include it.

That the biologic conception of life, beginning and ending as it does with the phenomena of nature, cannot account for the existence of homosexuality, is not at all surprising when we stop to consider that the assumption upon which the whole scheme is based, is groundless. Nature, as we see her, is a cause for nothing whatever — she is merely *one* diversified plane of manifestation of an infinite cause, the plane of third dimension. Until it is perceived that the cycle of human life is only an infinitely small phase of an infinitely great life, until we see life is not to be restricted to the limits of birth and death, unless we can grasp the fact that the life within everything eternally was an eternally will be, any deduction arrived at, through any process whatsoever, must be essentially false and the question of existence must forever remain the unanswered riddle of the Sphinx.

That in the ever-mounting scale of evolution we find a life passing out of the perceptible, is no reason for supposing that it has ceased to exist, if we will but consider even so simple a thing as vibration. Starting with the range of vibrations known as sound, we find that below this scale there must be certain vibratory rates to which our physical organism is not attuned, while between that scale and the next perceptible range is a vast expanse of which we know nothing or very little, and so on up the scale. Because we do not perceive these vibrations, must they not exist? That there are sound waves not audible to the ordinary ear has been demonstrated, just as it has been proved that there are light vibrations which are not perceptible to the ordinary eye — the ultraviolet and infra-red rays. Certainly then, if matter is only a specific range of vibration, as is the case with sound, heat, light and electrical energy, is it not logical to assume that there may be other material vibrations than those perceived by our present sense development? Conceding even that matter is necessary for the expression of spirit, could life not be embodied in substance whose vibratory rates are not apprehended by the five senses? Everything points to the existence of fourth dimensional space and substance and that it permeates our entire existence here and now. Would not this account for the existence of the ectoplasm of psychic research? If we could gain a knowledge of how to change the vibratory rates of this ectoplasm, could it not be made to appear to the physical eye, thus producing the phenomenon of "materialization" — e. g., the "manna" of Moses and the "loaves and fishes" of Jesus, together with other modern phenomena of a spiritualistic nature? If, on the other hand, we could enlarge the range of our physical perceptions of vibratory activity, might we not be able to see those who have entered the realm of fourth dimension or hear their voices? And if this means of changing the vibratory rate of matter were to be found, could not one substance be changed into any other substance? And could not matter itself be made to completely disappear according to the stories of the ascensions of both Jesus and Elijah? And if matter is a state of vibration, are not health and disease also? And could not the one be transmuted into the other by a change in the vibratory rate? And if old age were to be proved nothing more nor less than a slowing up of the vibratory process, resulting in eventual disintegration and apparent death, could we not, by restoring and maintaining the proper rate of vibration, polarize ourselves at any given point in the scale of age and remain there indefinitely? And if we could draw our every necessity directly from the ether which thing has been often prophesied of late) would we not

be emerging into that Utopian dream held in common by all peoples? And if, after all, every visible thing is but a specific rate of vibration in the ether and the ether is both force and intelligence, is it not obvious that mind is the medium for all transmutation? "And greater things than these shall ye do, if ye but believe," was the promise of the great metaphysical demonstrator!

I trust, therefore, that I have made it plain that life is not dependent for existence and therefore expression upon what is commonly referred to as matter — that it goes on in continuous unfoldment through successive experiences regardless of any apparent break with the so-called physical world; that it is the eternal principle of the universe ascending through self contemplation the ever mounting scale of evolution. It means the one life eternally present and manifesting itself in various stages of the conscious development of its unconscious power — unity in diversity.

Realizing that the process of living is merely an educational process in which greater powers and broader vision are brought to the attention of the ego and that the conceptions and contemplations of life are not alike in any two individuals, how are we to account for this vast differentiation except it be due to greater or lesser experience? How are we to explain the well-known child prodigies except on the basis of pre-conception existence? Yes, by the functioning of the endocrine glands — which doesn't explain. What causes this difference in functioning? What has caused the functioning at all? What created these glands? What is this inner power of transcending its environment? Is it not the life principle which, having become conscious of a new power adjusts its physical organism to conform to the idea? Knowing that this innate germ, life, spirit, is God, is it not easy to see that the so-called "fall" of Man is merely an allegoric representation of Man turning his attention away from himself in his effort to solve the riddle of existence? In so doing he has gradually lost a great part of his self reliance and has come to a belief in the power of herbs, drugs, serums, monkey glands and what have you, to give him mastery over his environment! This changing panorama of medical nostrums is quietly leading him back to his own innate powers, for one day someone is going to perceive that behind it all lies the age-old truth, "If you believe it, it is so." The amulets, talismans, charms and scapulars, all of which have produced as many miraculous cures as the whole range of pharmacology, are no more gross superstitions than are the formulas of medical science — the power behind them all is the "faith" or the expectant result of those who use them.

With all signs pointing to the fact that Man is tottering upon the brink of making discoveries which will revolutionize every existing field of thought, is it not time for biology to awaken from its nightmare and begin to check-up on itself? What difference if it may mean the abandonment of the physical for the metaphysical? Is not the truth of more consequence than pedantic nonsense? Is not the very subject of its experimentation transcendental? What is this great alchemy which transmutes the flesh of lesser organisms into human blood and bone and tissue without our conscious attention? Is it not transcendental? If not, will someone kindly explain why cattle and swine fed from the same bin of corn, the flesh of the one should remain eternally beef, while that of the other remains eternally pork?

But what has reincarnation to do with our present life? Everything! There can be no equitable adjustment of the inner Man to the outer, nor of one individual to another until that fact is taken into consideration as a prime factor. But, one says, there is no proof of previous existence and even the individual has no memory of it. Neither is there proof of love, ecstasy, pain or sorrow, except in their manifested effects. Until a man becomes conscious of them through experience, they do not exist — for him. Yet, they may be eternal verities. We are not born with conscious minds — these are developed as the result of our contact with our present environment and are the sum total of our reactions to it; but what of that unconscious or subconscious power which built this intricate organism during the two hundred and eighty days of gestation?

That few people have an conscious recollection of a previous existence, is no criterion; for, psychiatry has disclosed the fact that the results of experiences even in the present life remain in the unconscious as operating complexes long after the experiences themselves are lost to memory. And what are the fantasies of childhood — those fantasies, some of which pursue us even to the end of our days, stealing out as dreams while their oppressor reposes in sleep, or harassing him when he lapses into moody reverie? Are they to be so easily explained as merely a desire to satisfy an abnormal egotism, a mere pretension of the ego to some power or quality which it does not possess? Where in the processes of nature do we find such duplicity as would warrant so absurd an explanation? Are these things, along with all other subconscious activity to be so simply accounted for as to be designated "racial inheritance?" When we perceive how utterly impossible it is for a man to assimilate knowledge without actual experience, how can we hold to so untenable an argument?

When psychiatry can free itself from the "hereditary" influence of its biologic parent, it will see that "racial inheritance" is as much of a myth as Jehovah! There is no such thing as heredity in the accepted sense. We have but one common parent, that infinite First Cause with which we are coequal and coeternal and we have inherited the same infinite possibilities. From that point, then, we can build up a line of thought which will be impeccable, which needs no legal props to keep it from falling, which will deal with every individual fairly and justly, not extending favors to one and withholding them from another. How can there be a solution to the problem of existence so long as the prime factor in the equation remains "zero?"

Beginning with this new premise, let us see what results:

If Mind is primal energy, then thought must be the forming power — in other words, all things, being differing rates of vibration of the "ether," or mind substance, must respond to certain definite mental laws.

1. All things are in a state of activity or vibration.
2. All things respond to the law of rhythm, or cycles, — e. g., the ebb and flow of tides, the cycles of the day and of the year and of the lives of men and nations and in ever enlarging cycles to include the existence of planets and solar systems and eventually the entire cosmos.
3. All things respond to the law of equilibrium — a perfect balance must be maintained at all times.
4. All things exhibit bipolarity — opposites neutralize each other. The law of the paradox.
5. Everything follows the law of consequence — for every effect there is a cause, for every cause an effect. (Causes are to be found only in the realm of mind.)
6. All things obey the law of evolution — all movement is spiral-like, onward, upward forever and toward perfection.
7. All vibrations arrange themselves into definite patterns of seven or multiples of seven, according to the law of the octave — e. g., sound, light, chemical atoms, etc.
8. All things respond to the law of attraction and repulsion — love.
9. All laws of the mental realm have their counterparts on the emotional and physical planes. This is the law of correspondence.

Applying these laws to the cycle of physical existence will solve our every problem and instead of having to fight an apparently rising

tide of adversity, we can work in harmony with the plan of the ages to will, to do, and to become. Hardly a man but who knows the rhythmic ebb and flow of thought, the cycles of moods? Life — life is identically the same, a strange processional of purposeful experiences, broken only by stranger interludes, themselves overflowing with other experiences; rising, consciously rising to higher and higher forms of expression, coming at last to a perfect state of equilibrium wherein all forces are neutralized.

That this will produce in the future a race of perfectly sexless beings is beyond all doubt or question; but it is no cause for hysteria. "But what will become of the race?" wail the sentimentalists, "How will it be able to reproduce itself?" In the first place, the object of life is not procreation, but self expression. Man does not perpetuate *himself* through his offspring. The "creation" has been completed (in the etheric or mental realm) and only the process of forming, which has been going on for billions of years, remains to be finished. The extolling of procreation as an especial virtue, if you will pardon the pleasantries, is part of biology's "inherited knowledge" from old theology. Obsolete, all of it: every age is prophetic — it speaks to itself — the past is but a book of errors. Procreation is the natural order of the animal kingdom, the same as self pollination is the natural order of the greater part of plant life; but Man is an embryonic God — yes, still an animal, if you will, but slowly becoming conscious of his inherent divinity.

Physical science, so-called, is beginning to predict immortality here upon the earth. If that were to be, then the processes of birth must cease as well as death or we could conceive of a time when, through overcrowding, their earthly paradise must become a living hell! And in order for birth to cease, it would demand a race of perfectly sexless beings. However, we need not worry over that, for while physical immortality will come to pass, it will be of a different nature than our present conceptions of it. Even granting physical immortality in our present ideas of what constitutes "physical," it is evident that in such a state the mind of Man, having so completely mastered his environment, would not be content for long to rest in his perfection, but would begin seeking new worlds to conquer, as is already evidenced in his desire to communicate with Mars or to vacation on the Moon. Having become physically immortal and finding his environment irksome, it is only natural that he should seek some method whereby he could release himself from his bondage and thus explore the rest of the universe. If this is not a part of the infinite plan, of what use is the knowledge of the exact path of the

fifth satellite of Jupiter, recently charted after eleven years of research? From either viewpoint, then, the day must come when human life will disappear from the earth. And this deduction is not outside our law of rhythm when we observe the cycles of the day (morning, noontime, evening and night) and the cycles of the year (spring, summer, autumn and winter) and of the life of man (youth, maturity, old age and death), which is carried into greater and still greater cycles will mean the eventual dissolution of the earth, the solar system and the entire cosmos, to bring at some unknown time a new manifestation upon a still higher plane.

Now, in the evolutionary process, we observe that life, beginning at unity, passes through diversity and back again to unity, but on a higher level. It will be evident then, in applying this knowledge to the subject of sex, that our remote ancestry must have been physically hermaphroditic — not necessarily self impregnating. Rather, in the course of time anyhow, it means that certain ones, being more aggressive, exercised an increasing dominance over those of a more passive disposition until, after countless ages, the sexes became very clearly separated and defined, only the rudiments of the other sex remaining to tell of their one time existence. Having reached the extremity of the arc of diversity, there is only one other movement possible and that is back toward unity; there must be a gradual rapprochement of the two until, meeting at a point of perfect coordination at the end of the cycle, we have, not physical hermaphroditism, but a perfectly sexless being whose creative powers will be expressed directly from the mental realm. That his physical organism will be vastly different in composition to what we know today, is inevitable, permitting him to swing at will from perceptibility to imperceptibility (according to our present ideas). Knowing that our bodies are nothing but vibration and that thought also is vibration, may we not learn to change them at will?

It is perfectly obvious then that one of the first signs of this rapprochement would be the development of homosexuality, or the expression of this dormant secondary principle on the emotional plane. It cannot be otherwise when we realize that the emotions lie nearest the life principle or primitive element. Recognizing the law of generation upon the mental and emotional planes, it can readily be seen that unless the emotional nature is functioning according to its natural instinct, there is an impairment of both mental and physical abilities, for the emotions represent the great driving power and all manifestation results from the union of the desire to be or do with the will to be or do — desire, being

the passive state, becomes the feminine principle, while will, being the active state, becomes the masculine principle.

As has often been commented upon, all creative genius exhibits a pronounced "queerness," which may be largely explained by the great introspective life they live and which is the result of the processes of mental gestation. Further, it will be noted that during the period of gestation on the physical plane, animals, particularly those whose natural instincts are largely unmolested, live in a kind of mental haze — e. g., the common house-cat, usually very alert, during this time lapses into long periods of apparent semiconsciousness, during which things that would ordinarily attract her attention pass unnoticed. The same holds true with women, who become subject to introspective moods, greater sensitiveness and unusual psychic states which sometimes lead to hysteria over imaginary ills. Thus we can see that genius, which is the desire to be and the will to become, is merely the creative instinct which lies behind the manifestation of sex and is subject to the same law of impregnation, generation and manifestation.

Having noticed that genius exhibits, either consciously or unconsciously, certain bisexual traits, also lends support to the assertion that behind it all is the law of gender (which term I use as being more generic than sex). In order to understand the why of genius it is necessary to remember that the life principle (the soul or unconscious exercises two transcendental powers which the conscious mind does not cognize: instinct, which is based upon the results of agelong experience (learned actually and not vicariously); and intuition, which is a knowledge of the unfolding plan. In the ordinary extrovert, who lives mostly in the "conscious" realm and who relies principally upon his conscious knowledge, these subtle powers exercise no great influence upon his life; but in the introvert, who, possibly because of a highly sensitive nature, is forced often through cruelties to live in a state of moody introspection, these subconscious ruminations project into a stilled consciousness fantastic reminiscences of a by-gone age or prophetic utterances of things to come. In the average introvert, these things go unheeded, or are recognized only as moods and dreams, principally because they neither understand themselves nor are understood by those who should be able to give them intelligent direction. Not recognizing this inherent genius (symbolically, the Christ knocking at the door) this fermentation within him produces a great discontent, and insistent hankering for something — he knows not what. As "nervousness" comes on, he goes to a medical practitioner who advises matrimony and prescribes a dose of

nux vomica! This failing, he goes to a psychiatrist who says, "You're an introvert, go out and make yourself like other men — normal." As if a man were not "normal" when he is following his own natural inclinations! And as if the world were not already filled with too many singing fools! What we need is greater intelligence, greater understanding of human nature, greater sympathy with human frailty and intelligent direction of human life. Our whole system is wrong: socially, economically and educationally. When a man understands himself and is given intelligent direction of his life force and is given the opportunity to express it, he will never revert to criminality! And until that time, all the laws and regulations present or as yet to be conceived will never stamp out crime any more than sanitation, inoculation or dietetics will stamp out disease. The form in which it manifests may be changed from time to time; but neither crime nor disease will be eradicated until the real cause is seen and is corrected. At this point I want you to see that the great difference between genius and the ordinary introvert is merely intelligent direction. If we could intelligently direct these rising streams of consciousness and thereby salvage from the scrap-heap of human derelicts the millions who go into its composition, we would not only be doing them an inestimable favor, but we would be doing ourselves an even greater one; for who knows what great impetus might be given civilization to say nothing of the elimination of criminality, insanity and the other innumerable ills that beset human kind. By personal contact with the underworld, I know that these characters are largely introspective. Think of the saving economically as a result of turning this tremendous force into constructive channels!

"Reform" always fails because it starts out upon the premise of morality. Morality has no place in the infinite scheme — nature proves that. (Let the sentimentalists wail again!) We naturally have an ethical obligation; but that whole obligation can be summed up very tersely: "Whatsoever things ye would that men should do unto you, do ye unto them." Outside of that there is no such thing as morality. The failure of the church is principally due to its mistaking "piety" for spirituality. Spirituality is defined in the "Holy Writ" of the church as being "peace and joy and righteousness of the Holy Spirit," or contentment, happiness and the intelligent direction of the indwelling life. Spirituality is merely the recognition of the spiritual nature of all things and the utilizing of that knowledge. It goes without saying that spiritually minded men will be moral although they may not always have a high regard for the conventionalities of their day — a thing which was also evident in the life of Jesus.

Another thing to which I would call attention, is that those who approach homosexuals without the preconceived idea that they are dealing with "degenerates" are profoundly impressed with their mental brilliance, creative ability and versatility. While, from my own observation I believe the "underworld" to be largely homosexual, I do not wish to go on record as saying that homosexuals are largely criminal — far from it, you will find them in the highest walks of life as well as in the lowest. But, I do want to emphasize the necessity of turning this mighty stream into constructive channels instead of letting it vent itself in destruction. After all, what would be more natural than that the homosexual, coming to look upon himself more and more as a social outcast, should eventually seek companionship among those who have no regard for conventionalities? And would it be surprising that he should seek to vent his vengeance upon those who have decreed him to be a social outcast? Among the theatrical profession (as well as in the underworld) where conventionality is not a disturbing factor and homosexuals are accepted for their intrinsic worth, they are regarded as the finest entertainers and most brilliant performers—which fact is also emphasized by their being employed largely to write the sketches of those possessed of a lesser degree of bisexuality. Only those who have an intimate knowledge of the subject realize how many of our modern witticisms and clever quips come directly from the lips of homosexuals! And many a conventional old grandmother, who would be shocked into insensibility at the mere mention of homosexuality, glibly quotes their phrases, watches their performances, reads their books, revels in their music, painting, etc., without the slightest qualm of conscience!

Observing that no force becomes apparent unless it encounters opposition, we realize that in the evolutionary process, consciousness swings constantly between two points of opposition and the surmounting of one obstacle only places us face to face with a still greater problem. Thus life becomes an onward, upward movement forever and there can be no such thing as regression. We have inertia and momentum, but all movement is forward: what appears to be regression is merely the return of the cycle, but always on an upward movement — like a spiral. When we see the ego reverting to what may be considered primitive instinct, it is always an indication of the generation of some new phase of life — i. e., Steckel has placed the homosexual attachment in the realm of the primitive, calling to certain primitive or "infantile" characteristics in connection with its manifestation. This is not to be understood as a regression, but an unfoldment of further innate powers. At the same time,

Steckel makes no explanation as to why homosexuality should be considered more primitive than heterosexuality.

If we apply the manifest laws of nature to the cycle of human life, we find that the ego incarnates itself seven times in the masculine segment and seven times in the feminine segment — this by the law of the octave, in which the eighth becomes a repetition of the first. Visualize, if you can, the ego rising on this great spiral of evolution by the action of these two impelling forces, swinging between these two great poles of influence, much like the positive and negative poles of magnetism, but which we will designate as masculine and feminine poles. We know then that the closer it approaches to either of these poles, the greater the influence of that pole — the same as the principle of the electric motor.

Now assuming, for example, that the ego has entered the human cycle at the masculine pole, where the influence of the feminine would be minimized, it is evident that development would be along purely masculine lines, but as it gradually enters the regional influence of the opposite pole, this development is slowly arrested and is supplanted with a corresponding increase in feminine development. Remembering that the unmanifest precedes the manifest, we see that this change is first felt in the ego itself, then in the emotions and intellect and finally in the physical organism. While the purely masculine man (as history has amply recorded) would possess the object of his affections regardless of her preference in the matter, the awakening feminine instinct impels him, in the sixth incarnation, to demand a reciprocal feeling; his own happiness being more or less dependent upon her emotional reactions instead of the physical. With a continuance of this inner change, in the seventh incarnation as he approaches even closer to the feminine pole, he cannot only see the viewpoint of a woman, and imagine as woman would, but he begins to manifest the desire of a woman, among which is to be possessed by a man, or one of his own sex.

With the desire to be a woman uppermost and the will to be one in the ascendancy, it must follow as a natural consequence that in the ensuing incarnation (eighth, or first of the new cycle) the physical is going to conform to the inner pattern. Here again, the ego passing through the regional influence of the feminine pole, continues on a course of almost purely feminine development until it again enters the magnetic field of the opposite. Some wag inadvertently expressed a great truth when he summed up woman in the phrase "To be" — i. e., she wants to be loved, cared for, and protected; being much more secure in the knowledge that she possesses a man's love than in the knowledge that she ac-

tually loves him. The type is well-known, the "clinging vine;" her great forte is her desire for security. Now, however, in the sixth incarnation, she begins to take an interest in things masculine, adopting masculine habits and occupations and displaying much more aggression than previously; while in the seventh, her desire to be a man becomes so dominant, her emotions so masculine that her love must find its counterpart in the feminine form. (The two processes are merely interchanged, providing the ego enters the human cycle at the regional influence of the feminine pole).

If followed closely, this accounts for the various types of homosexuals designated "Mannlings," "Weiblings" and "Psychic-hermaphrodites." Seventh incarnation homosexuals manifest as either of the first two mentioned types together with the "female impersonators," may only express their libido in dress. Fourteenth incarnation homosexuals are the psychic-hermaphrodites; for having experienced both cycles, their emotions are bisexual, and they can find enjoyment with either sex. (The question of love and happiness, however, is another problem.) The only difference between "Mannlings" and "Weiblings," however, is on the mental plane and not on the emotional. The one, while attracted by his feminine emotions to a man, will only to be the man; while the other has the courage of his convictions!

Homosexuality is neither hereditary nor acquired by fixation; it is congenital: it is more than that, it is part of the inherent plan. Preconceived notions may be rose-colored glasses, but they never reveal the truth! The subject of sex is due for rationalization; biology owes that to the world: and it will never be understood until homosexuality is understood. This cannot be done by first making it anathema and then trying to find excuses for so doing in worn-out theories and conventional cant.

It is neglectful homicide to advise a homosexual (including the psychic hermaphrodite) into a sex union with anyone of the opposite sex; for it can result in nothing but eventual misery for both principals. The thing may endure for a time, but only for a time — the awful outcome is evident when it is too late to make amends. In this age divorce is a blessing (except on the children of such unions) otherwise insanity, suicide or murder would be many times greater than at present. Repression is only done at the point of danger. Just as a heterosexual, who cannot form a love-union with someone of the opposite sex, is inimical to his own well-being and a menace to society at large, so is the homosexual

who cannot form a similar love-union with someone of complementary make-up. To illustrate:

In a heterosexual man we have the emotional nature and the physical body predominantly masculine. Now it must be recognized that the emotional nature is constantly seeking its counterpart not in the emotional nature, but in the physical. (The particular proportions of masculinity and femininity to effect a fine balance, together with the fact that the mental qualities must be subjected to the same careful consideration, need not be entered into in order to make clear the general point I wish to make.) It appears then that a heterosexual desire can only be satisfied through a physical organism of the opposite sex and in the case of a man it must be met by the feminine form. To make this union of mutual satisfaction, and therefore one of permanent happiness, it is evident that she must possess feminine emotions otherwise there can be no satisfaction regardless of orgasm.

Applying the same principle to the homosexual, we have, in the male, a being whose body is predominantly masculine, but whose emotions are predominantly feminine, or equally balanced as in the psychic-hermaphrodite. (There is no such thing as a homosexual having predominantly masculine emotions, notwithstanding the belief of many homosexuals to the contrary). The endless search of some homosexuals for a "man" who will reciprocate their affection leads only to one disaster after another; for they learn that the men to whom they are attracted are not attracted to them, or having won the affection of some such, the disillusionment is equally complete in the discovery that he too is a homosexual. It doesn't take many such experiences until this type becomes the promiscuous sensualist so common in large communities, whereas a little enlightenment in the beginning would save most of them from such miserable existence. Another type, though actually attracted by the male and who, because of inadequate training, finds no congenial employment (his feminine soul revolting at the ordinary laborious pursuits of man), becomes the promiscuous leech who sells himself — or rather his body — for a price to those of pronounced female habits, capturing his villainy with blackmail.) Remembering, then, that the emotions seek their counterpart in the physical, it is evident that a homosexual man can only achieve that complete satisfaction (regardless of orgasm) in the male body — not even in a female body with masculine emotions. In order, also, for the party to the union to experience that same inner satisfaction, he too must be possessed of a feminine soul. The psychic-hermaphrodite is no exception: by applying the same rule, it

will be seen that he must have someone with whom he can be both man and woman. In universal law there are no "exceptions" nor variations; when we find exceptions, it is obvious that we have not discovered the law.

The great sixth root-race is in its prime, the fifth has passed and the seventh is making its appearance. We have much to learn; a great deal more to unlearn. We are standing in the dawn of a new era, in the midst of a great adjustment of everything pertaining to the problem of human existence; we must let go of our "orthodoxies" and "become as little children," devoid of preconceived notions and willing to learn. Suppose we cannot see as yet the great plan in its entirety? What of it? Should we not be able to trust that infinite wisdom which has evolved things to their present high estate to continue the process without our worry or concern? Suppose it does mean the discarding of all the knowledge we have acquired? What of that? Are petty facts more valuable than eternal truths? A child, upon entering high school, has to unlearn much that he was taught in the grades and, upon embarking upon a college career, must further the process of unlearning; yet, it was necessary that he pass through those periods of lesser understanding in order that he be able to comprehend the greater truths which his higher studies would reveal. The past has been vitally necessary in the evolution of the race, but it is past — let it bury its dead. Out of old truths emerge new which obviate the old; and it is only the foolhardy, the mentally halt and blind, who refuse to or cannot grasp the rising order in the scale of evolution.

As the race nears the end of the seventh period, then will appear the real race of Man (which is yet only in the embryonic stage), a race of supermen (gods, if you will) which will manipulate the physical universe with as much ease as it now solves a mathematical equation. Where imperfection now exists, will be perfection; where ignorance still persists, will come illumination; where he is still using the methods of the animal kingdom to overcome and reproduce, he will rise to the full stature of his being and, like the off-spring or the Divine Son of that Infinite First Germ, will stand forth in his own right and declare, "Let there be so-and-so," and every power of nature will rush to do his bidding. Thus will we live to see the Word made manifest!

What is our part in this infinite plan? To live and let live; to grow normally and naturally according to our innate nature — just as the rose unfolds from out of its being a beauteous blossom, sending its delicate fragrance into the surrounding air, so should Man evolve out of his inherent nature those infinite beauties which, in the beginning, were in-

volved. Be not deceived, there is neither "good" nor "evil" in the infinite plan: that things are, is sufficient. The oak, that rears its proud head on yonder hill, lives not that it may provide shelter for the lolling cattle who lazily ruminate in its shadows, nor does it live that it may deprive the struggling blades of grass at its base of their sustenance — no; it lives just to be and to become, unmindful of all else in the universe, oblivious to all save the inherent and evolving plan.

But to Man it is given to "know the mystery of the Kingdom of God;" but he was forbidden to taste of the fruit of that tree, which is called "The Knowledge of Good and Evil." Man is not warned against evil alone, but against the belief that there can be either good or evil; the disregarding of which has cast Man into outer darkness where he has been obliged to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. But when the "Christ" appears, that is, the coming of this superhuman consciousness in Man; when our minds can become so illumined that we perceive the real nature of all things; when we no longer believe, but know; when by that knowledge we can lay hold upon the etheric realm and draw from its infinite substance our every need; when we can manipulate it just as we so desire; then, and not until then, will we have "overcome the world" and who can say what we shall not become?

Until that day wherein the Son of Man shall be glorified, let us march on in the light of our present knowledge, side by side with our fellow men, dropping our petty beliefs in the understanding that God is Life, Law and Love; with malice toward none, with our eyes upon the eternal vision of the ages, let us go purposefully forward — "One for all, all for one" — to achievement and victory — a victory wherein even death loses its sting!

915 19TH STREET, N. W.

THE DIVINE CHILD

GEZA ROHEIM, Ph.D.

New York City, N. Y.

In their recent book on mythology Jung and Kerényi have discussed the concept or myth of the divine child. In his usual mystic manner Jung writes:

"It is perhaps not superfluous to remark that the layman may identify the divine child with what we actually experience in our childhood as if the child as it exists were the causal explanation of the 'child' motive. In psychological reality the empirical concept 'child' is only one of the means of expressing psychological facts which are not possible to approximate. Therefore the mythological child-concept is not a copy of the real child but a clear symbol, it is a divine, miraculous not-human child."⁽¹⁾

If the aim of research is not to bring light where there is darkness but to make a transparent surface opaque — I can't see much purpose in it. Jung is simply telling the reader, now be a good boy, don't inquire into the mysteries, moreover I am not going to tell you what they mean. Perhaps I don't even know myself — this last sentence being correct.

In Greek mythology we find many examples of the child-god.

Nilsson⁽²⁾ writes: "In the hesiodic Theogony Plutos is the son of Demeter. Nothing of this kind appears at Eleusis, the identity with Pluton who abducts Persephone (Persephone and Demeter are identical) would be too obvious. We see the child handed over by the Earth Goddess to a nurse or as is frequently the case in these myths to Hermes. The idea that the divine child has been neglected by the mother or is nurtured by others is also found in the myths of Dionysos, Erichthonius, Hyakinthos and Zeus."⁽³⁾

In the same mythical cycle Triptolemos is represented as an aged man sometimes identified with Hades. He appears on the serpent-drawn carriage with ears of corn flanked by Demeter and Kore or with the plough, he is "the thrice plougher." The point in this is that Triptolemos is also identical with Demophon, the child who is nearly killed or immortalized by his nurse-mother Demeter.

We can start from here in several directions. We choose the role of Hermes in the myths of the divine child.⁽⁴⁾

His well known function is that of the messenger of the gods with specific emphasis on rescuing the newborn infant. From Nysa he car-

ries the newborn Dionysos to the Nymphs. Similarly he protects the Dioskouroi and others. Hermes rescues Asklepios from the pyre⁽⁵⁾ — Apollo also rescues Asklepios from the pyre. On this pyre Koronis the mother of Asklepios dies. But Apollo who takes the babe from its mother's womb is really the father of Asklepios.⁽⁶⁾

Hermes is the child god himself; he is born and he comes out of the cave to steal the cows of Phoibos Apollon his older brother. Born at dawn he plays the lyre at noon and steals the cows in the evening.⁽⁷⁾ Like other child-gods he alternates in the roles of adult and infant and having invented the lyre creeps back quickly through the keyhole, gets back into his cradle and is an infant once more.⁽⁸⁾

Hermes is a stone phallos.⁽⁹⁾ Harrison says: "Hermes, as Agathos Daimon was once merely a phallos."⁽¹⁰⁾ Actually he is represented as ithyphallic or identified with Priapos.⁽¹¹⁾ According to one version he is the father of Eros.⁽¹²⁾

Eros, Hermes and Apollo are all represented by erect stones,⁽¹³⁾ i. e. one and all they are the phallos. "Aguieus the pillar (Phoibos) is often confused with the Herm. The wife of Menesilochos goes out to meet her lover and talks to him near the Aguias, under a bay tree." "Hermes remained in cultus phallic to the end; Aguieus at last at Delphi was by historical times expurgated."⁽¹⁴⁾ Like his father, Hermes, Eros plays the lyre.⁽¹⁵⁾ Eros is preeminently the child god; in his hand, however we find bow and arrow or the torch.⁽¹⁶⁾ Eros is the Herm is Hermes.⁽¹⁷⁾

Snake and child are parallel symbols in Greek religion. Athena hides the child Erichthonius in a chest with snakes and gives the chest to the three maidens Aglauros (the Bright One) Pandrosos (the All Dewy One) and Herse (dew) to guard. Then one of the sisters opens the chest. When the chest is opened by the disobedient sisters what emerges from it is a snake not a child. In art he appears as half-man, half-snake, his body ending in a snake's tail.⁽¹⁸⁾ In European folklore we find the house-snake. A typical story relates how child and snake drank their milk from the same plate. The snake does not harm the child even when the latter hits it on the head with the spoon.⁽¹⁹⁾ The same story is told at Felsőbánya in Hungary.⁽²⁰⁾ According to the Germans in Transylvania there is a snake in every house. If anyone kills it, the family becomes extinct.⁽²¹⁾ Rumanian house snakes are white; they suck cow's milk.⁽²²⁾ In modern Greek folklore at Zakynthos the house snake appears in the form of a miraculous animal smaller than a lamb. Women are especially likely to see it. The child plays with the snake, but the snake also takes the child away and brings it back.⁽²³⁾

A patient who is dissatisfied with her boyfriend for various reasons but satisfied with him as a lover dreams that a little boy is sliding down the bannister straight into a hole. "How marvelous! the way he fits into that hole," she thinks in the dream. A male patient whose problems are his potency, his wife's opposition to his ambitious schemes and his short stature dreams:

"I am climbing a ladder (or post) and pushing my little boy up before me, exerting myself greatly. It is very difficult." The same night he dreamed something about difficulty in performing the sexual act. He had forgotten the details of this dream, then he went to sleep again and dreamed the dream as told above. He remarks: "My wife said in the dream why don't you climb up there"—and remembers previous dreams in which he made efforts to urinate, but could not. In this patient's phantasy the fact that he was short meant that his penis must be short too.

Bertram D. Lewin shows that the body-phallos equation really implies the phantasy of being eaten up.⁽²⁴⁾ Ferenczi would state it as the phantasy of returning into the womb.⁽²⁵⁾

Since everyday experience teaches us that *the child in the dream represents the phallos* we may say that the great Jungian mystery is no mystery at all.

We find the same symbolism in a completely different culture.

"In Bali, the gods are thought of as children of the people, not as august parental figures. Speaking through the lips of those in trance the gods address the villagers as papa and mama and the people are said to spoil or indulge their gods." "Newborn babies reincarnated and fresh from heaven are addressed with honorific terms."⁽²⁶⁾ Children, especially at birth, are treated as gods⁽²⁷⁾ and the baby itself is also the most important phallic symbol.⁽²⁸⁾

This is by no means the only source of the phantasy of the divine child. Apollo, while still in his mother's arms, kills the dragon Python.⁽²⁹⁾ A child imagines that it can perform the deeds of the adults; this would be the simplest explanation. But we must make it more specific, the child has an Oedipus complex. Leto is the mother, Python the serpent the sexual aggressor, i. e., the father. Apollo Tityoktonos is a parallel myth to Apollo Pythoktonos. "Tityus attempted to have intercourse with Leto and was killed by the infant Apollo. Tityos is derived from a verb that means "to swell" and he was generally regarded as a personification of unbridled lust."⁽³⁰⁾

Christmas miracle-plays in European folklore show quite clearly that the unconscious content of the homage paid to the Christ Child is the victory of the Son over the Father. One of the performers is an old man, or old shepherd and he is always ridiculed. In the Rumanian version this comical figure of the old man is called *mosul*.⁽³¹⁾ In the Hungarian version he is either one of the three shepherds or we have the three shepherds and the old man. In one of the versions from Western Hungary (Kis-Kanizsa) the figure is called Our Grandfather.

The third shepherd says:

Our Grandfather,

Bring in your lousy beard, but take care you don't get bruised by that wisp of straw.

Our Grandfather:

Please dear friends, take this wisp of straw out of my way because I might fall into the tanner's vat and the tanner might skin me.

Third shepherd:

I wish he had skinned you already, come in, you old fool!

Old Grandfather:

Hey, you damned beast.

Don't dare to make fun of an old man (etc.)

Third Shepherd:

We have heard your scolding, old grandfather, and we have had enough of it. Come in and have a drink.

The next scene is even more to the point.⁽³²⁾ The Old Grandfather says:

In the name of God the Father, and the Holy Ghost, Amen, *leaving out the son*. Old Grandfather keeps misunderstanding things and when they ask him "what about the Son?" he says: "He is outside with a sack full of bacon." The angels sing Gloria and one shepherd says to the other "the sheep are gnawing Old Grandfather's beard." The shepherds bring various gifts for the infant Jesus and it is usually the third or Old One, who brings a lamb. The shepherds sing "if the farmer would give us wine we would not give any to the Old One."⁽³³⁾ "You eat and drink your fill but you forget all about my old beard," the Old One complains.⁽³⁴⁾ In one of the Szekely versions the old man complains that he is very weak. They run to the rescue, lift him but at the same time they also duck him. Then they accuse each other of having beaten the Old Man.⁽³⁵⁾ In a version from Baranya county, they all hit the old one.⁽³⁶⁾ The

Old Father threatens the others with a stick. His beard is supposed to be full of lice, he makes throwing gestures as if he were distributing the lice, giving everybody one. They say: "Drink, old father, may the whirlwind pull the inside of your stomach out."⁽³⁷⁾ In some cases the role of the old shepherd is serious. He is the leader of the shepherds in the Szeged version, he enters and he sings:

The door is open and I praise Christ
I would like a little room for myself in this house
You see my friends how many we are
Therefore we praise God.

In this instance it is the old man who plays a trick on the others. He sends them out to take care of the sheep and in the meanwhile he empties the whole flask of wine.⁽³⁸⁾ In the miracle play performed at Radna, the Old One is so helpless that he does not even know how to sit.⁽³⁹⁾ The feature that he says, in the name of the Father, the Holy Ghost, Amen, and leaves the son out, is repeated.⁽⁴⁰⁾ One of the shepherds says to the Old One, "I dreamt that you were an ox in a yoke." "That must have been *your father*," the old man replies.⁽⁴¹⁾ In one of the versions the Old One expresses his incredulity; it can't be true, that Christ is born.⁽⁴²⁾ In the Hegyhát version they say to the Old One, "Are you alive or dead, I am sure you have eaten enough sheep by this time," (i. e., enough for a life-time.)⁽⁴³⁾

All these Christmas miracle plays, with the star, and the puppets and the shepherds must have been transmitted to Hungary from the west, i. e., from Germany. However, at least in Weinhold's collection I find the shepherds but no trace of the Old One. Instead we find that the helplessness and age of Joseph is especially emphasized.

Joseph:

God help us! Don't forget the bottle
For however much I have to carry
And I am only a weak old man
Surely I must have a drop of wine
Mary, don't think of such a thing
Just you fill the bottle.⁽⁴⁴⁾

In another version Joseph is to bring or light a candle and he complains that he does not know how to do it. In a French miracle play while Joseph has gone for the candle Gabriel and Michael bring the Virgin Mother burning candles.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Considering the role played by Gabriel and by rays of light in the annunciation, that is in the symbolic coi-

tus of the father and mother in which Christ is conceived⁽⁴⁶⁾ it is obvious that Joseph's fumbling with the light indicates his ineptitude as a father in the genital sense. Since the lamb is Jesus himself the fact that the Old Man brings the lamb (as a present) identifies him as the degraded representative of the father-*imago*, of God (The Shepherd) himself. In one of the English miracle plays (Towneley cycle) we find Mak a thieving neighbor who goes to sleep between the shepherds, steals the sheep and carries it home to his wife. She thinks of a plan to conceal the stolen property, she will pretend that she is in childbed and that the sheep is the newborn infant. So it is wrapped up and laid in a cradle and Mak sings a lullaby. But this is of no avail and the shepherds give him a good tossing. Then comes the "Gloria in excelsis" and the angel announces the birth of Christ.⁽⁴⁷⁾

For reasons that are obvious in the Christian religion the birth of the Christ child could not be represented as the defeat of the Father and therefore Oedipal aggression finds a veiled outlet in creating these caricatures of the Old One.

Heitsi Eibib is the hero-god of the Hottentots. His antagonist is Gama-gorib who owns a hole and probably represents the Father and Death. In his contest with Gama-gorib he was first thrown into the hole. But he spoke to the hole: "Hole of my ancestors, heave up your bottom a little and give me a lift so I can jump out." In the third match he throws Gama-gorib into the hole.⁽⁴⁸⁾ A girl becomes pregnant from a kind of juicy grass and her son who was very clever was called Heitsi Eibib. And all the other young women came and helped her to nurse the child and he soon became a big man. On one occasion the baby was fretful and his mother had to put him to sleep. Another time he dirtied himself on his mother. When the other women were out of sight he suddenly became a big man and raped his mother. Then he became a baby again. Later when the grandmother once told the mother, "Don't you hear your child crying?" she said, "I hear but let big men help themselves as big men do."

The following is the Thlinkit account of how mankind obtained daylight.

A powerful chief kept daylight, sun and moon in a box and the box was in his house. The Raven wanted to liberate daylight. He flew many many days to find the chief's house. When he found it he sat down at the edge of a pool and meditated on how he could get in. The chief's daughter came to draw water. Raven said: "I would like to marry you but it must be in secret because your father would not allow it. She re-

fused. Thereupon he changed himself into a pine needle and fell in the water. The chief's daughter drank the water and swallowed the needle. She became pregnant of the Raven and was delivered of the Raven.

The child grew rapidly and its grandfather loved it exceedingly. Whatever the child asked for they gave it to him. One day he asked for the box that was hanging from a beam on the roof. The grandfather said, "no!" The child nearly cried itself to death and the mother cried too. First he gets it only just to peep in, while the grandfather closes all the openings of the house. Then he opens the box a little more and again a little more. Then because the child continues to cry he opens the chimney just a little, a little more till finally he takes the shape of the Raven once more and flies out of the house with the box.⁽⁵⁰⁾ In another version the chief's daughter swallows berries and in four days the child is born. He grew rapidly and in one day he could talk already. This time he steals the sun in a boat. When he opens the box his mother says, "Look what wicked things he is doing."⁽⁵¹⁾

The Oedipal core of the myth is evident. The Raven's mother and his wife are the same person and he himself appears both in the role of the adult and in that of the child. The pine needle is the penis and swallowing in water is coitus displaced upwards. The box containing daylight is of course like other boxes in mythology, (Pandora, etc.) symbolic of the woman herself. Since the mother-wife is here symbolized by daylight⁽⁵²⁾, it is obvious that the voyeur element must be one of the libidinal trends represented in the myth. First the child merely peeps through a hole, then it wants to see more and more. The house as a symbol is parallel to the box and the woman. The chief closes all openings, the child makes him open them. The "flying out of the house" which might be taken as representing birth is also a camouflage for flying into the house, i. e., coitus. This meaning of "opening the hole" is quite evident when the mother complains that the son is doing a wicked thing. Flying is a universal coitus symbol and the myth operates like a dream with a repetition of symbolic contents. First Raven flies to the house and halts on the edge of the pond (vagina) then he is swallowed in needleform. The father as typical antagonist of the hero is slightly veiled. The myth is rewritten in infantile form,⁽⁵³⁾ the antagonism becomes milder, instead of a father who has to be killed it is a grandfather who can be mollified by crying.

Another version of the story confirms both the Oedipal interpretation and the symbolization of a woman by daylight.

A powerful chief was very jealous of his young wife. He had a

sister whose ten sons he killed one after the other, to prevent them from inheriting his wife in the Tlinkit fashion.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Finally she gets a child in a miraculous way. This is Raven who then overcomes and kills his uncle. He kills the uncle and all the people in his house by throwing an octopus at his feet. The octopus keeps swelling and at the same time the flood rises and kills all the inhabitants of the house. The coitus symbolism is evident and also the urethral and dream character of the narrative.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The uncle keeps his wife in a box suspended on a beam of the roof — just like the sun guardian in the other myths kept the sun, the moon and the daylight.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In a Koryak myth Self-Created, the grandson of Big Raven kills his father, thus avenging his mother's death.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Driven away by his father he returns and destroys half of his father's townspeople.⁽⁵⁸⁾

The mythical child hero performs deeds that every child wants to perform, he kills his father and marries his mother. The child's phantasy contains in a nutshell the deeds the man will perform to win a woman for himself and to vanquish his rivals. The rapid growth motive of myth condensates human life, like our precocious phantasy outruns our actual development.

Later in life we relive the Oedipal situation once more. The son is the father *redivivus*; a new rival for the wife-mother. Hence the unconscious hostility of father against his son. European folk belief makes an attempt to reduce this tension by representing the child as a changeling.

At Islay a smith discovers that his son is a changeling. A wise old man advises him to take as many egg shells as he can get, spread them out in the room and then proceed to draw water with them, carrying them two and two in his hands as if they were a great weight and finally spread them with great earnestness around the fire. He had not been long at work when there arose from the bed a shout of laughter and the voice of the boy exclaimed:

"I am now 800 years of age and I have never seen the like of that before."⁽⁵⁹⁾

In a Scandinavian story the changeling sees an eggshell boiling in the fire with one end of a measuring rod set in it. He crept out of the cradle on his hands leaving his feet still inside and stretched out longer and longer until he reached right across the floor up the chimney. He exclaimed:

"Well seven times have I seen the wood fall in Lessoe forest but never till now have I seen so big a ladle in so small a pot."⁽⁶⁰⁾

In an Icelandic story the butter churn in the tiny pot reaches from the kitchen floor out of the chimney and the changeling says:

"I am as old as my beard shows and in the land of elves I am the father of eighteen children but I have never seen such a long pole in such a little pot."⁽⁶¹⁾ In Upper Brittany the changeling sees sticks jumping up and down in boiling egg shells.

Voila que j'ai bientôt cent ans
Mais jamais de ma vie durant
Je n'ai vu tant de p'tits pots bouillants.⁽⁶²⁾

The adult shows the child the primal scene,⁽⁶³⁾ because the unconscious knows that this is what the child always "understood." This feature of the myth is ironic and paradoxical. Why do you pretend to be a child if you react to what we are doing? And the Oedipus complex is ageless, is passed on from one generation to another uniting fathers and sons, mothers and daughters in the original sin.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The Lithuanian elf or changeling says "I am so old, I was already in the world before the Kamschtschen forest was planted wherein great trees grew and that is now laid waste again but anything so wonderful I have never seen."⁽⁶⁵⁾ In France:

"I have seen three times bush and three times meadow and three times big trees again but never so many egg shells around the fire."⁽⁶⁶⁾

In Guernsey:

I am not of this year nor the year before
Nor yet of the time of King John of yore
But in all my days and years, I wean
So many pots boiling I have never seen.⁽⁶⁷⁾

The child dreams of being a grown man and the grown man of being a child again. There is no such thing as a "Passing of the Oedipus Complex"; what Freud meant was merely that the Oedipus attitude in its original form becomes unconscious, repressed.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The unconscious is timeless because impervious to change — but its derivatives are protean in their many manifestations forming the core that unites our past, our present and our future.

There is also another, ego-factor, in the divinity of the child.

We know that Ferenczi assumed a first stage of ego development which he calls that of infantile omnipotence.⁽⁶⁹⁾ It is not quite clear how we should correlate this with another psychoanalytic theory *viz.*, with the assumption that the object is discovered through its frustrating quality.⁽⁷⁰⁾ I don't think that Ferenczi's stage of magical omnipotence

precedes the stage of the frustrating object, they overlap. *Libidinal cathexis mobilized against frustration is the essence of magic.* Environment cathected with libido means environment accepted, understood, and the miracles of the child god are really the "miracles" performed by every child in the course of growth. Raven as we saw above brings daylight, i. e., the child opens its eyes. He also goes around naming places,⁽⁷¹⁾ i. e., the child learns the names of places. Raven observed certain regulations very strictly among the rivers he had created. "Formerly the Indians were very strict with their children when they went up the rivers,"⁽⁷²⁾ i. e., *the culture hero represents the learning process.* In the child's world everything is a miracle that is looking at it retrospectively which simply means that logic has not been discovered as yet and the world is viewed subjectively as created by the child's feeling, emotion, libido. Animals speak, treasures are revealed, water becomes wine when the child is born on Christmas Eve.⁽⁷³⁾ But the central miracle of growth is the libido, the erection. The 5 year old Jesus, disregarding the taboo of the Sabbath (against the super-ego) forms pigeons of clay and by his magic he makes them fly.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Every growing youth like the Baccalaureus in Faust is in this sense a divine child.

Baccalaureus (Second Part, Act II. Scene I.)

This is Youth's noblest calling and most fit!
 The world was not, ere I created it,
 The sun I drew from the orient sea
 The moon began her changeful course with me;
 The Day put on his shining robes to greet me
 And when I beckoned from the primal night
 The stars unveiled the splendors to my sight.⁽⁷⁵⁾

Taylor's translation⁽⁷⁵⁾ somewhat obscures the point that is quite clear in the German original, viz., that the primal night means his first sexual experience.

"In jener ersten Nacht
 ergluehete mir aller Sterne Pracht."

Like the Christian religion the Roman poet (4th Eclog of Vergil) begins a new period of the world with the child — for it is natural to project subjective experience into cosmic happening.

Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas
 Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo
 Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna
 Jam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto

Tu modo nascenti puero quo ferrea primum
Desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo
Casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo
and the lines

Incipe parve puer risu cognoscere matrem
Matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses
Incipe parve puer; cui non risere parenti
Nec deus hunc mensa, dea ne dignata cubili est.

Norden has discussed the beliefs of the period expressed by Vergil.⁽⁷⁶⁾ I would merely comment on one aspect of this secular hope of mankind; in this new and better period it is the boy with his Virgin Mother, and fathers have been abolished.⁽⁷⁷⁾

Heitsi Eibib thought an infant has intercourse with his mother (quoted above). The Somali tell a story of the child who could not speak. "His mother prays that he should speak, Allah grants the prayer and the child says: Mother, I want to have intercourse with you." She prays once more to make the child dumb again as before.⁽⁷⁸⁾ While our sexuality shows this precocious trend in childhood our phantasies at least in the unconscious background remain those of a child even in adulthood and old age. The man is already present in the child and the child is still immanent in the man.

In the mysteries of Eleusis the Mother is the Daughter and the Daughter is the Mother. Plutos the Child, the Son is also Pluto the Father. And the Eleusian mysteries promised immortality projecting this "steady state" of a "timeless unconscious" into the world beyond the grave.⁽⁷⁹⁾ I suspect that *in ultima analysi* the timelessness of the unconscious is due to our prolonged infancy or general neotenia and prolonged span of life.⁽⁸⁰⁾

Honey seems to have been the first food that touched the lips of a Greek child and hence the Gods derive their immortality from nektar and ambrosia, i. e., from honey diluted in solid form.⁽⁸¹⁾

A dream of a patient in the third year of his analysis explains the meaning of the myth. The dreamer has recently married a girl much younger than himself. He consciously wishes to prove his manhood by making her pregnant. The pregnancy of his first wife was the reason why he had to go to an analyst. He dreams:

I come too late to my office. Mrs. N. is there, she points upwards. There is a curious ladder, it is like a series of squares built one on top of the other. The material is soft, I can hardly climb up. I am afraid it won't hold my weight. I have to put my fingers into holes in the ma-

terial that is how I climb up. The ladder ends above the clouds — I see the back of a man's head at the top.

I climb up and there is a sort of swing. I have to pull myself up and sit in it. A woman N. N. is there, she is helping me to get into the chair or swing. She has a sort of professional detached attitude.

ASSOCIATIONS

Too late — his age. Mrs. N. — his former employer, a Lesbian; = a man = the analyst. Goal of analysis — he is to become a father. The squares of the ladder are like concentric circles. The softness reminds him of pubic hair, the holes of the vagina. The head above the clouds, is first his father's head, then his wife's mons veneris. The swing is like a baby's high chair. The woman reminds him of an older woman, a friend of his mother's, also of a prostitute. The dream ends with suspense; it is not sure whether he can climb into the chair or not.

INTERPRETATION

The way up is really the way down into the womb. The anxiety manifested in the dream reveals his deep wish not only to have intercourse with his wife but to go into her womb, and stay there as an embryo. At the same time he would also be on top of the ladder, identical with his father, i. e., with god.

Being a child (embryo) and a father at the same time that is the essence of the divine child.

The divine child is no mysterious "archetype" that exists independently of our own life,⁽⁸²⁾ *it is the wish we all wish*, based on our biologic background.⁽⁸³⁾ Thus *subjectively* we all perform the miracle of Joshua.

Sun stand thou still upon Gibeon!

And thou Moon, in the Valley of Ajalon!

(Joshua 10, 12)

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251 Central Park West,

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE NORMAL

WHAT DOES "NORMAL MEAN?"

A. J. LEVINE, PH. D.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The word "normal," like a trombone, varies in meaning just as the musical instrument does in length. Some notes call for considerable extension; others involve slight movements within narrow limits. As one records the uses of the word "normal," it becomes clear that it conveys different meanings, some narrow and sharp, some wide and blurred. When an individual is described as a normal person it may signify: (1) that he is average; (2) that he possesses common sense; (3) that he is without pretensions or arrogance, — just "plain folks;" (4) that he is free from the taint of abnormality.

Analyzing these definitions further does not make them more precise. A mathematical average is definite because the figures involved remain the same no matter who handles them. A mark of 80 in an English test and 90 in another yields an average of 85. Every school boy knows what it stands for. An average person is not a clear cut individual in the sense that 85 is a sharply defined quantity. The explanation is simple. An individual's personality is made up of qualities such as pleasantness, poise and considerateness. Each one of these is interpreted differently according to the mood of the person judging them. The same smile may be charming or mechanical depending upon circumstances. A suspicious person may consider it cunning or sly when observed on the face of a stranger, and warm and sunny when it lights up the face of a friend. "Poise" is lower down the scale of indefiniteness. An unemotional person may be credited with "poise" when he only displays stolidity. By the same token, a highly sensitive and vivacious person may be accused of lacking poise. He doesn't restrain his feelings, not for lack of reserve, but out of a boundless interest in life. As to considerateness, who can fathom the motives behind the thoughtful act? And who can distinguish with some degree of accuracy the considerateness that is merely politeness from the genuine practice of the Golden Rule? An average individual is therefore a shadowy being because it is impossible to define sharply such features as pleasantness, poise, and considerateness.

The same considerations hold for the other definitions of normality. Common sense may easily pass over from an asset into a liability. For common sense means the knowledge and mental efficiency that is supplied by the senses and by unrefined experience. Up to a certain point

the senses may be trusted. So may the product of day by day experience. But both are notoriously unreliable when measured against the precise scientific instruments and the findings of scientific investigation. The same common sense serves as a check upon the extravagant notions of dreamers who think anything possible because human progress has been so rich in brilliant achievements. They reason that since the slow march of civilization has carried mankind a long way on the road to plenty, a forced march will bring them quickly to the gates of Utopia. Common sense is no less optimistic but it consults the pages of experience to discover that civilization resembles an army. Just as an army dare not move faster than its supplies, so progress of social reform must not get too far ahead of the mental and spiritual resources of the people. And human habits and attitudes cannot be altered or destroyed over night. Nor can new habits and attitudes spring into being by a mere act of wishing.

This constitutes a victory for common sense. On the debit side of the ledger may be found the record of the failures of common sense. It is lacking in insight into the possibilities of human ingenuity; it glorifies matter of factness and belittles the usefulness of the imagination. It has repeatedly retarded progress by acting as brakes on ideas and inventions that proceed at a faster pace than the senses can maintain. It is the common sense view that clashes with the imaginative outlooks of the Fultons and the scientific certainties of the Pasteurs. The application of steam to navigation is ridiculed as "Fulton's Folly." Common sense disputed the claim of Pasteur that an organism as tiny as a microbe could kill a human being. It is this same common sense that underestimates the hidden power of the totalitarian fighting machine while at the same time overestimating individuals' traditional courage and endurance. Furthermore, common sense is as poor a measuring instrument of normality as the payment of the income tax is an indication of a nation's wealth. Everyone does not pay an income tax; not everyone has common sense. Many suffer from defective sense organs. Worse still, their daily experiences are either insignificant or are so poorly organized as to become worthless as a means of interpreting new occurrences. Some are even deficient in the elementary principles of self preservation; their common sense is rated much lower than "horse" sense.

Common sense is supposed to be outstandingly developed in plain people, "simple folks." That is why they are strong for simplicity. They profess to be sensible enough to reject all niceties in behavior that complicate life too much. They scorn the refinements of education that di-

vert the mind from the business of improving one's economic standing. They mistrust intelligence because it devotes itself too zealously to the cultivation of sophisticated living. Insofar as "plainness" and "simplicity" discourage the frittering away of one's energies on things that are purely decorative, and fragilely artificial, these qualities are commendable. But many who pride themselves on being "plain folks" are obviously trying to find compensation for their transparent ignorance, their bald crudeness and their lame intellect. To describe these people as normal is to offend that large body of intelligent individuals who have made a successful blend of simplicity and sophistication, who can live gracious lives without losing sight of the simple enjoyments which bear the same relation to the more refined indulgences that vitamins do to elaborately prepared foods.

There is another feature which the devotees of common sense and simple living have in common. Both are great believers in their self-sufficiency. The former intimate that common sense is a dependable measure of man's capacities. The possession of common sense fits an individual to gage the capabilities of others. All that is needed to qualify as an expert is to weigh any undertaking on the scale of one's own abilities and in this way pronounce judgment. "What I can't do, nobody can do." The glorifiers of the simple life are equally egotistic. Their philosophy of life is narrowed to one principle: "What I don't like should be rejected by every one else."

Thus, being average, sensible, or simple, is neither accurately descriptive nor uniformly complimentary. The yardstick of sanity is equally unsatisfactory, owing to the enormous extent of the twilight zone between sanity and insanity. Yet there are well-defined limits within which normal and abnormal behavior is readily identified. This is less true of normal behavior. For unlike abnormal individuals, a normal individual may occasionally lapse into abnormal behavior without losing his status. He is still considered sane to all intents and purposes. When the normal individual crosses the boundary line that separates the normal from the abnormal, he is much less likely to retain many marks of his former state. Moreover, the repertory of abnormal behavior is less varied than that of normal persons as if the abnormal had lost the capacity to invent new patterns or ring changes on old ones while displaying a diabolical sort of ingenuity. But it stays in well-marked grooves.

Within these abnormal patterns one can recognize threads of normal behavior. Their presence is highly suggestive. It points to the fact that while the normal exhibits endless variations in behavior, a large part

of it exerts little or no influence upon the individual's ability to get along with people. And it is only the distortion of a few major patterns that lead to abnormality. Since these are seen in sharp relief in the abnormal, normal behavior is best approached through the study of abnormal conduct.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ABNORMAL BEHAVIOR

Abnormal behavior ranges from the strange, queer, and eccentric, through the chronic "problem cases," the neurotic, to the unmistakable insane, the psychotic. Each type is recognized by symptoms peculiar to it. Yet each shows characteristics shared in some degree by all classes. Altogether eight such specific characteristics have been studied by psychiatrists.

1. *Seclusiveness*:—Seclusiveness is a tendency to cut oneself off from the social group. This tendency has its roots in disdain, dislike and fear of one's fellow-beings. Fear is probably the primary cause; fear of what others have done or may do. This passes over in a chronic state of anxiety, a state of indefinable expectation of danger. Dislike and disdain are part of the hardening process by which the pain inflicted by an unsympathetic world is lessened. The logic of this complex attitude takes this form: "I am misunderstood, persecuted; I am miserable and forlorn. I cannot cope with the situation I shall, then, withdraw from all association with these plotting beings. This way they can't hurt me. I shan't miss them; they are not worth bothering about." He follows this up with as complete isolationism as he can maintain in the face of the unavoidable demands of group life. One such willful isolationist was admitted to the hospital with a history of temper displays and extreme stubbornness. During the first year she made for her room whenever she found an opportunity. Failing in this, she stood apart from the group as completely isolated in thought as though she were all alone.

It should be noted that wanting to be alone is a normal desire. The world is often too much with one. The pressure of personalities is often like the pressure of water upon a submarine. Many individuals are not built to withstand for long periods the congestion of large groups or the strains exerted by one exacting or capricious person. It is natural to find a retreat where one may relax from the unwelcome attentions of undesirable people. Furthermore, thinking to some purpose can be best carried on in an atmosphere free from avoidable distraction. Keeping to oneself for the purpose of study, work, reading or the cultivation of hobbies, does not come under "seclusiveness."

2. *Irritability*:—There is another check on "seclusiveness" aside from self-chosen and unrelaxing isolationism. When anyone attempts to break up this lapse into seclusiveness, he is met with a passionate outburst of temper. The display of anger is directed, not so much at the intrusion, but more at the attempt to break the spell of solitariness. In this connection it is interesting to note that seclusiveness and irritability go hand in hand. The records of psychiatrists bear out this observation. When nurses seek to draw patients out of their seclusive moods they react with great irritability. They sulk, pout, scream, mutter under their breath, stamp their feet and resort to profane and abusive language. Their action leaves no doubt in any one's mind as to their strong preferences for a solitary existence.

3. *Daydreaming*:—The technical description of daydreaming is "wishful or purposeless thinking during waking life which takes the form of long trains of uncontrolled and fanciful imagery or of imaginary adventures." Consciousness is thinking. When the brain is awake and the senses are alive, impressions stream in consciousness in an endless procession. It constitutes the "stream of consciousness." This stream may be controlled. Then it becomes purposeful thinking, or thinking about a definite matter, a specific problem. In the intervals of uncontrolled flow, the stream of consciousness carries stray thoughts, odds and ends of reflection. While they are apparently unrelated, they are not altogether disconnected. Each thought is not so new but that it contains some element of a former thought tucked away in the corners of the mind. Moreover, thoughts are anti-isolationist in temper. They seek the company of other thoughts. So that the moment they enter the mind, they make instant contact with congenial associates, who, in their turn, make use of the conscious moment to track down old acquaintances. Psychologists speak of these casual sequences as "free association." In day dreaming, the stream of consciousness is not altogether without control or direction. It is not unhampered free association, going just for the ride, as it were. It is wishful thinking. In other words, daydreaming is time taken out to construct an inner world in which one's ambitions and hopes find fulfillment; a world from which all obstacles that obstruct one's path, all forces that thwart the human will, have been eliminated. That is why it is described as "dreaming." It partakes of the unreality of the dream. Yet it goes on during wakeful hours and affords fuller satisfaction to the ego.

Another form of daydreaming is concerned with the drawing-up of plans for the solution of practical problems. This practice of turning

things over and over in one's mind in order to obtain a complete picture of them, is a highly commendable way of arriving at workable solutions. It is often more economical than forcing the conscious mind to occupy itself continuously with a task until it is done. Daydreaming is less strenuous, more relaxing and permits the mind to examine the deeper layers of memory for helpful suggestions. If the memory does not prove helpful, the imagination comes into play. And between the memory which contributes stored up information in their original packages and imagination which yields refined and embroidered information, the daydreamer may find the key which will open the lock of the problem.

Building Utopias, and making flights on the wings of imagination, are useful occupations. To define them as normal is to suggest they are harmless activities that have no influence upon personality. The fact is, they are highly desirable habits. Wishful thinking is what makes the harsh realities of life bearable. It constantly rebuilds shattered ideals, cements crumbling faith, and retouches the picture of the "shape of things" so that they look less fearsome, less depressing. Imaginative thinking also possesses virtues appreciated by the ego. It enables one to build a wall of illusions, convincing self deceptions that help one to hold on to ideals even though evil forces are making a mock of them.

Daydreaming takes on an abnormal tinge if the individual confuses wishful thinking with practical thinking and imaginative thinking with realistic thinking. Consciously or unconsciously the normal individual realizes that the "shape" he "wishes things" to assume is what his heart desires. He knows full well that practical considerations stand in the way. And by "practical" he understands all circumstances, both natural and man-made, that conspire to force mankind to be content with the near-ideal and the seemingly-ideal. A normal person knows inside of him that the castles he is building are figments of his imagination and not brick and mortar structures. He goes on building them for the same reason that he draws pictures, practices his signature, dots i's and improvises geometric figures. It is just "doodling" of a more complex variety. Above all, daydreaming is reserved for leisure moments; it is never permitted to interfere with the performance of one's duties and the completion of necessary chores. For the abnormal individual, daydreaming constitutes his real life while daily existence is looked upon as lacking in substance, as horribly unreal. He, therefore, devotes so much of his energies to dreaming that he has no time for the practical affairs of life. He constructs a dream world and persuades himself that he can go on living in it. He builds castles and moves into them. Thus

he lives in the midst of his fellows but he is not of them; he moves among them like a foreigner who finds their language and ways of living strange and distasteful.

4. *Strange Behavior*:—Any behavior that is unusual, grotesque, inappropriate and dramatic is strange or bizarre. It may be considered strange by conventional standards, such as: wearing evening clothes in the daytime, or summer clothes in winter. When it is remarked that a person "acts strangely," it is assumed that his behavior cannot be explained by the known circumstances. A usually well-mannered person might suddenly lapse into rudeness. A situation that should call forth laughter is met with an outburst of crying. Because such behavior is unexpected it does not suggest an abnormal condition. If a daily record were made of the actions of any person admittedly normal, it would disclose an unexpectedly large number of mannerisms, gestures, and habits, which taken by themselves, would condemn him as an eccentric. As a rule, they are remnants of outgrown habits, symptoms of nervous strain, superstitious practices thought to possess magic power, and gestures expressing contempt of conventional behavior. Very often their origin is shrouded in obscurity. And there is neither rhyme nor reason that would lend to them a semblance of reasonableness.

Yet they are not abnormal phenomena. For no matter how large they bulk in one's estimation, they are outweighed by the more numerous habits, gestures, and attitudes that are woven into the acceptable behavior of the self-same individual. They are looked upon as negligible defects in an otherwise workman-like pattern. They become serious only when they are unusual, like strange postures, the wearing of inappropriate costumes, absorption in bits of string or wood, the mimicking of the sound of animals, and other performances that cannot be explained on rational grounds. For example one patient refused to answer when addressed and assumed postures that would have been considered torture by a normal person. Another patient sang nonsensical songs, and picked up and smelled objects about him. A third burst into gusts of weeping from which both tears and motive were absent. Their behavior is rightly described as bizarre; by no stretch of the imagination could they be fitted into a normal pattern of behavior unless they are meant as a bit of burlesque.

5. *Dwindling away of Personal Interests and Activities*:—As would be expected the individual who is anxious to withdraw to an imaginary world of his own fashioning, is not going to interest himself in the world about him. Therefore, there is a noticeable shrinkage in personal inter-

ests and an aversion to physical activity. Most persons of seclusive disposition prefer sedentary occupations, such as reading, solitary play, playing games with imaginary companions rather than with playmates, or strolling about alone. Those who engage in activities outside day-dreaming, show a preference for childish pastimes. In other words, they go back to the days of their childhood to revive occupations that are out of keeping with their age. They regress to a stage of existence in which games give full play to the imagination and in which childhood notions are tolerated by grownups. These considerations are important: they afford opportunities for indulging in solitary pastimes. A 12 year old was reported to enjoy playing with toy trucks, and toy airplanes. A 10 year old was engrossed in small sticks and odd bits of string.

6. *Dislike of Criticism*:—Irritability is displayed when the seclusive mood is broken into. Thus, seclusiveness and irritability are part of the same pattern of behavior. Dislike of criticism is something else again. Normal and abnormal individuals are inhospitable to criticism by the very nature of the human ego. Self esteem is the most precious and fragile of human possessions. Any threat to this most precious jewel of the ego is repelled resolutely and even savagely. But normal people appease their ego by assuming the half and half attitude to criticism. They reason in this manner: "I have discovered that I have many imperfections. Also, that many people know a blemish when they see it. Yet, I want to guard my ego against the shock of having these defects discovered by others. There is no telling what unflattering conclusions they — and others — may draw. I will, therefore, assume that while no critic can ever be 100 per cent right, he may be right to the extent of 50 per cent. Therefore, I shall guardedly submit to criticism." As a consequence, the normal individual will accept constructive criticism in good part. Not so the abnormal. He is "acutely affected by external impressions." This includes both praise and dispraise. He reacts to them with blushing, embarrassment, weeping, panic or fear. The blushing is not an expression of modesty, or is weeping a revolt against unjust criticism. They are signs of a deeply rooted feeling of inferiority which mistrusts praise for fear it may hold mockery and resents criticism because he suspects the motive of the critic.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NORMAL BEHAVIOR

The features of normal behavior can now be sketched in. The normal individual does not relish being completely submerged in the group. He insists on remaining a distinctive ego, an individual. He therefore

insists upon his privacy. He echoes Miss Garbo's plea, "I want to be alone." His liking for solitariness does not grow into seclusiveness. On the contrary he is a friendly body; he revels in companionship. He is forever practicing Dale Carnegie's rules on "How to Make Friends and Influence People." He wants to influence them as much for comradeship as for business reasons. Of course he has his moments of seclusiveness. But they are temporary. Since he is not seclusive he does not suffer from "irritability." In fact he welcomes the intrusion that serves to break in upon a despondent mood.

He cannot be persuaded that daydreaming is harmful even when it interferes with practical pursuits. He resorts to it as an escape from trying conditions, as a stock-taking device, as an opportunity to engage in some serious thinking, and as an occasion for self commendation. He often looks upon daydreaming as another form of privacy, one in which secret ambitions and treasured ideals are brought out safe from the prying eyes and disparaging tongues of strangers. However, he does not delude himself into the belief that one can think himself out of one's duties and obligations by so simple a device as to will one's self into another world. He daydreams but he never lets his mind fall asleep.

He strives to conform to conventional and acceptable behavior because he wants to earn the good opinions of his fellowmen. He never affects strange manners or bizarre clothes. He is not unmindful of the pleasant effect of behaving and dressing as an individual, cultivating just enough differentness to cause one to stand out in an unexaggerated manner. This ambition may be described as trying to be inconspicuously conspicuous.

He has as many interests as behooves a person who is aware of the numberless activities our civilization offers. These interests are genuine. They are not assumed for the sake of making an impression. But all interests are kept in leash lest they distract from the practical business of living. He chooses them carefully. They must satisfy a deeply felt hunger, or a highly developed aptitude. They must not be too expensive. Furthermore, they must be suitable to one's age. This meaning of "suitability" is in controversy. It is quite a common sight to discover father playing with Junior's toy railroad with all the exuberance of youth. It is still a suitable pastime if it brings relaxation in its wake.

Physical activity is a guarantee of good health. No machinery can stand idle without deteriorating. The same hold for muscles. They must be exercised, they must be used. A Chinese gentleman, watching his host exert himself in a strenuous game of tennis inquired, "Why can't you

hire someone to do this for you?" Unfortunately, no one has as yet discovered a substitute for physical activity. Not even the passive exercising on mechanical gadgets can take the place of active physical exertion.

As to sensitivity of criticism, this is the best test of normality. If the criticism is unfair it is a sign of weakness not to express resentment. But if the criticism is fair, even in part, the normal individual is expected to weigh it at least, to extract the kernel of truth, and having done so, accept it with good grace. He must go beyond mere acceptance. He must act upon it just as quickly as circumstances will permit. And he must cultivate the art of self criticism so that in time he will acquire the "giftie" to "see ourself as others see us."

1745 PRESIDENT ST.

Abstracts from Current Literature

Clinical Psychology

THE HOARDING INSTINCT.

Clifford T. Morgan. Psychol. Rev. 45:335-41, November 1947.

The instinct of hoarding seems very peculiar inasmuch as it is not determined by necessity and apparently is not a source of satisfaction once the collection is obtained. The author's study has been made upon rats whose hoarding instincts are notorious. The apparatus utilized consisted simply of an alley about 8 inches high and wide and about 3 feet long. At one end of it was a bin full of pellets of food and at the other the animal's cage. The rat would be fully fed before being placed in the apparatus. He would stay there about thirty minutes per day. After emotional adaptation had been secured, it was found that adult rats fully watered and fed will hoard five to twenty pellets per day.

Certain factors were found to influence the rate of hoarding. Low environmental temperatures would instigate hoarding. This of course is an adjunct of the normal wild life of the animal who is preparing against a winter season. A second factor is food-deprivation. Rats will hoard as many pellets in a one-half hour's test if deprived of food as will fully-fed animals in twenty-four hours at low temperatures. Food-deprivation, then, is the most important single factor in instigating hoarding behavior. The physiologic factors concerned in the experiments are the depletion of sugar and glycogen which are used by the body as short-term sources of energy. Experimentation by the injection of glucose, insulin and adrenaline have brought about interesting problems but have not solved the primary one of hoarding itself.

With respect to the human being, deprivation of food in the infant develops the frustration of primary drives such as feeding and suckling in infancy. This may be at the root of greediness in the adult personality. There seems to be a constitutional factor involved because some animals are more prone to hoarding than others.

Frustration may be caused by showing the animal food and then removing it from his sight. Another method is enclosing the food within a cage which is inaccessible to the animal. The frustration leads to anger and to increased hoarding when food does become available. Hoarding seems to be an end in itself. If the hoarded food is removed from the

animal, increased hoarding does not take place. The amount of hoarding seems to depend largely upon an urge. Another peculiar phenomenon is that light placed above the animal's cage depresses the hoarding instinct even when the animal is suffering from food-deprivation. Lighting of the tunnel, however, increases hoarding two and one-half times. This may continue even after the alley is darkened. There seems to be some emotional reaction involved in the experiment.

Animal experimentation of this kind, throws some light upon the acquisitive tendencies of the human being but much more research is necessary before any definite conclusions can be drawn.

STRUCTURAL VARIATION IN THE NERVOUS SYSTEM IN RELATION TO BEHAVIOR.

K. S. Lashley. Psychol. Rev. 54: 325-34, November 1947.

The old battleground of inheritance versus psychogenic background for so-called "functional" disturbances is reviewed in this article. Lashley believes that some structural variations can be showed to correlate with functional disturbances. His study concerns itself with smaller variances which appear superficially as purely determined psychogenic manifestations. On every hand, one witnesses behavior which is determined by heredity. So marked is this observance that it becomes difficult to conceive of behavior otherwise motivated. The characteristic responses for a given species are fixed and include not only reflexes and complex instincts, but also differences in emotional traits and in special abilities. "There is scarcely a variable in the range of human personality, which cannot be matched as a fixed interspecies difference in other animals."

Comparison of the brain structures of various animals should provide some clue to the genetic determination of individual differences. Even the human brain varies widely for different individuals but these differences and may be assumed to determine corresponding individual some functional significance but they do not lead to any marked differences in pattern response for the species. Any attempt to relate phylogenetic and individual differences in behavior to brain structure is futile. Nevertheless, individual variations are essentially similar to interspecies differences and may be assumed to determine corresponding individual characteristics of behavior.

The distribution of sensory tracts, the arrangement of receptive nuclei and the focalization of function in the cortex are found to vary but little among the mammalia. This provides a conclusive reply to the objection that has been raised against the role of heredity and behavior on the grounds that precision of nervous organization cannot be obtained by gene determination.

The arrangement whereby stimuli are handled through afferent and efferent pathways provides two basic mechanisms of behavior. On the one hand, a segmental arrangement of connections results so that a pattern reflex organization is provided and on the other hand topographic representation of sensory surfaces in the cortex provides a spatial distribution of excitation.* By this mechanism perceptual organization of all vertebrate series is insured. This has a profound effect upon the genetic determination of behavior and may involve very intricate and coordinative processes.

Cerebral histology indicates a wide range of differences among animals which may lead to some functional diversities. This is particularly true of the basal nuclei and particularly the thalamic and subthalamic groups, which in humans have retreated to a role subordinate to the cortex. Differences in chemical constitutions, however, may be even more significant for behavior than structural differences. The reaction of the nervous system to hormones, drugs and toxins shows a wide range in sensitivity. Variations in arterial supply may doubtless lead to differences in behavior disorders especially when dependent upon the oxygen level. A special susceptibility of the corpus striatum in metabolic disorders which are hereditary may be shown. The hereditary nature of the convulsive disorders is commented upon by the author.

A RORSCHACH STUDY ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ALCOHOLICS.

Charlotte Buhler, Ph. D., and D. Welty Lefever, Ph. D. Quart. J. Stud. on Alcohol. 8: 197-260, September 1947.

The literature on alcoholism has firmly established the classification of alcoholism based upon a psychopathic personality and that which is incidental as a reaction to a situation or a symptomatic escape from unsolved conflicts or real illness. Hitherto the pattern of the alcoholic psychopath could not be laid down by projective technics. The authors in approaching the problem found it necessary to set up certain procedures

which comprised the following; a diagnostic sign list of ninety-nine Rorschach signs for the discrimination of different clinical groups; a normality score for the placement of individual cases in a normality range; statistical technics for finding significant sign differences between different clinical groups; a new approach to the theoretic interpretation of certain sign patterns. In other words the authors employed a different method of interpretation and of organization of data than was hitherto utilized. One hundred patients of the Minneapolis General Hospital, the Los Angeles County Hospital and 23 private patients constituted the basis for the study. The problem to be determined was whether or not there was such a thing as an "alcoholic personality pattern." The average age was 38 with a range of 17 to 62 years. Of alcoholics over 24 years of age there was the equivalent of a high school education. Three times as high a percentage of alcoholic males as compared with unselected males had professional or semiprofessional occupations. More than ten times as many of the women were divorced and fifteen times as many of the men, compared with the general public. About 24 per cent reported the father drank to excess. The average age that the patients took their first drink was 24 years, with the heavy drinking about six years later. Spree drinkers constituted one-third of the cases. Psychiatric classification showed that 30 per cent were psychopaths, 27 per cent psychoneurotic, 10 per cent psychotics, 6 per cent organic defectives, 3 per cent so-called normals and the rest undiagnosed.

The setting up of the diagnostic Rorschach sign list of ninety-nine items took a period of two years and was based upon specific diagnostic values occurring with sufficient frequency as to be discriminative without overlapping into other clinical fields. The whole subject requires considerably more study before a conclusive scale can be accepted as complete validation. Each sign was assigned a scoring weight based upon Klopfer's interpretations and terminology. The scoring weight was in general the highest positive or negative weight received by that sign on any of the nine graphs plotted so as to show the characteristic responses to the Rorschach test. Five clinically defined groups were studied, namely, normal, psychoneurotic, psychopathic, an original organic group and a schizophrenic group. Graphs were prepared for each and comparisons were made accordingly.

The graphs indicated that the majority of alcoholics are closest to the psychopathic and psychotic groups. The main differences between the alcoholic psychopath and the social psychopath are: first, the former shows better FK, better Sum C, a tendency to D - W, excess W,

gruesome contents; second, the social psychopath shows, FK absence; $k+K$ absence, less total shadings, excessive F per cent, low Sum C with more $CF+C$. Rational control factor in the alcoholic group (F per cent) is better than in other comparable clinical groups, and is accompanied by better insight (FK) more anxiety ($k+K$) and more sensitivity (shadings) more emotional warmth (Sum C) and more outer control (FC). Despite the better balanced rationality, insight and sensitivity of the alcoholic psychopath, he is more remote from reality than the social psychopath because of his desire for a vague unsuccessful mental activity. He tends to confabulate (D-W). The social psychopath is emotionally colder and less responsive, has less anxiety and gives in to himself ($CF+C$). He has no insight.

The sex psychopath, as compared with the alcoholic psychopath, demonstrates a richer inner life (M), deeper anxieties (K), the more constricted rationality (F per cent) of the psychoneurotic, less triteness (A per cent), none of the wishful thinking (W) of the alcoholic. But there is a schizoid extravagance in the use of symbolism.

Statistically the most significant and consistent trait is the alcoholic's incapacity to stand strain and tension. He does not put up a fight for existence, cannot persevere nor stand disappointments. He has immature instinctual needs. He suffers from anxiety and guilt feelings and is introspective. He falls short of his own expectations, suffers from frustration and seeks escape through the use of alcohol. There is a marked intolerance of tension shown both by the organic and alcoholic groups (Rorschach sign of low m). The authors summarize the situations as follows: "from the Rorschach, then, the alcoholic personality appears to have the following characteristics: significantly low tension tolerance, therefore need to escape tension; low inner directivity in the sense of lack of imagination in setting up goals and insufficient motivation by such goals; instead, strong motivation by instinctual needs. While these traits are common to the alcoholic and social psychopath, discriminating characteristics are the alcoholic's critical self awareness, guilt feelings and anxieties, and more adequate rationality and emotionality."

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOPHYSIOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTROENCEPHALOGRAM.

Chester W. Darrow. Psychol. Rev. 54: 157-68, May 1947.

Attention is called to the fact that the EEG has failed to make important and extensive contributions in the field of psychology. The au-

thor states that the EEG is not primarily a record of the integrative activities but of facilitative and homeostatic regulatory processes. The varying degrees of equilibrium among the four variables, alpha rhythm, cortical integrative activity, chemical condition and cerebral circulation, with the autonomic nerves contributing an important influence are all that the electroencephalogram reports. The author gives some explanation for this.

He raises the question as to why the most prominent electro-potentials of the brain are decreased when the cerebral activity is increased. This is in direct contrast to the electrical activity showed by the heart and skeletal musculature. It would appear that interference between the circuits of the thalamus and the cortex cause the large rhythmic potential differences recorded on the surface of the skull. Each of the cellular layers of the cortex has its own individual rate of discharge and they therefore tend to cancel out their potential differences. In fast activity intercortical potential differences are recorded and not the alpha rhythm which corresponds to the integrative processes of the cortex.

Occipital bipolar EEG records may be greatly influenced by thalamo-cortical potential differences. Likewise discharge of subcortical and sympathetic impulses back into the cortex moderate the cortical excitation. In such a manner the low potential fast activity recorded by the EEG during high activity of the cortex itself is explained. There is evident need for the regulation of cortical impulses in order to secure proper recording of states of excessive anxiety or tension.

The author discusses the effects of intracellular chemical conditions. The formation of acetylcholine increases cortical excitability even to the point of producing convulsions. Nerve impulses from the carotid sinus increase the liberation of acetylcholine and therefore may contribute to cortical tension. The opposite condition prevails following hyperventilation through the destruction of acetylcholine by cholinesterase under these conditions. Cerebral activity is slowed down and spasms of the blood vessels may result.

From the above discussion it would appear that a normal alpha rhythm requires exactly balanced conditions. In emotional states, cortical activity may limit the function of the cortex in such a way as to give improper patterns. Excessive bodily conditions which give a state of hyperventilation likewise cause increase in blood pressure thereby reducing the carbon dioxide content of the brain. Hormonal production is thereby influenced. It is obvious, therefore, that what is picked up

from the brain by the EEG depends upon the relative strength of the cortical fast activity as compared with slower subcortically determined activity being impressed upon the cortex. Considerable evaluation of the patterns obtained by the EEG must be made so as to make allowances for chemotherapy, relaxation, etc. By this means a better understanding may be obtained as to the effect of subcortical mechanisms upon emotion.

Psychotherapy

FUNDAMENTALS OF PSYCHOTHERAPY AND A NEW ORIENTATION.

Marshall C. Greco and Irving B. Fecher. Am. J. Orthopsychiat. 17: 439-48, July 1947.

Three schools of therapeutic approach are briefly reviewed in this article, namely, Freudian therapists, revisions of Freud by Karen Horney and the nondirective method of counseling of Carl R. Rogers. The author believes that the chief basic differences in these schools is the manner in which the patient is manipulated rather than differences in thought content. Horney, the author believes, has made notable advances in the Freudian concept by showing that the power of neurotic strivings is due to an underlying basic anxiety which is the outcome of our social relations rather than a derivation from biologic instincts. She believes that the unbridled fierce competition with which all of us have to contend in modern life, means that success can be obtained only by encroachment upon the rights of others. Hence the idea of fairplay is merely a superficial concept. The author disagrees with this theory and points out that it is the experience of everyone to meet plenty of wholesome, generous and unselfish people. Horney sees in the neurotic only a repetition of the competitiveness of societal relations. The feeling of being alone in an actively hostile world engenders the basic anxiety which is at the root of neurotic trends. In criticising Freud she becomes guilty of the same error; namely, a preoccupation with the patient's weaknesses.

One of the main objectives of the Freudian approach, is to broaden the ego so as to bring it into harmonious relations with the libido. Transference with the therapist must be secured so that identification can take place. In this manner the patient secures the necessary strengthening of his ego in order to deal with the problems of his conflict as they become apparent to him.

Rogers in a nondirective manner shows a genuine interest in the patient but does not exploit this relationship. He becomes influential through fostering meditative processes within the patient, without the necessity of securing identification. The purpose of the Rogers therapy is to rid the patient of defenses which will prevent him from seeing himself in a clearer light. The Freudian approach necessitates a reliving of the patient's past painful experiences. In doing this, much resistance is accomplished which the Rogers technic avoids. Obviously the latter technic is not capable of securing the deep psychologic penetration necessary in very severe neuroses. The more superficial conflicts can be approached by the Roger method which has the advantage of emphasizing the patient's strength rather than his weaknesses. The feeling of personal deficiency upon which Freud and Horney concentrate are condoned by Rogers. He teaches the client to drop his defenses but leaves him with a one-sided view as to the adaptability of his style of life. This of course is a distortion but it enables the patient to meet life with sufficient courage. He feels he is not to be blamed for his weaknesses because after all they are the result of the social environment into which he has been projected. It imbues him with the idea that he is not a total loss, that he has the power within himself to change the setup. This constructive therapeutic concept enables an individual to develop an adequate philosophy of life so that he can endure many hardships and it strengthens him in the meeting of the problems of his own conflicts.

STUDIES IN GROUP SYMPTOM FORMATION.

Selma H. Fraiberg. *Am. J. Orthopsychiat.* 17:278-89, April 1947.

Various group pathologies are encountered in hysteria, riot, attack and in group paranoid states. Investigation of this phenomenon is difficult because the subjects are not available.

Rape fantasy is a fairly frequent occurrence. The author mentions an instance in which a rape fantasy developed in a girl aged 18 and it was spread by her through a small residence for delinquent girls. The entire group became involved in an erotic hysteria in which they felt they were going to be raped by the "Sugar Bowl Gang." The original patient was found to be in a state of acute sexual conflict because her lover threatened to leave her if she did not yield to intercourse. Her mother had been in similar circumstance, had yielded, became pregnant and died as a result of an abortion. Fears engendered by this situation were predom-

inant in the patient. She fantasied the threat that the gang to which the boy belonged would rape her. She imparted this belief to other members of the home; she was believed and group hysteria developed. She likewise fantasied a group of Knights who were going to defend her. Thus the conflict of a wish for being raped as symbolized by the Sugar Bowl Gang was opposed by the defense against the wish through the Knights. The patient had to have a body guard in the form of another girl thus protecting her from male attack. This turned out to be a true homosexual relationship. Accordingly, two related processes in the symptom formation of this group can be observed. First, the formation of the group symptom; the group identifies with the central person, incorporates her symptom and acts out in terms of a group fantasy; second, Role-play; the group symptom enables the members to express a variety of symptoms in its service and under its protective guise. Group rape fantasy is commonly observed in which situation some woman has been atrociously violated. A number of similar instances will crop out all over the city in direct proportion to the amount of publicity given the original incident.

The second topic discussed is that of race riot. The Detroit race riot in 1943 was followed by a similar race riot in a summer camp for delinquent boys. Obviously the two events were related through suggestion. A considerable amount of disturbance had been going on among the cabins but the height of emotional feeling occurred following a boxing match in which the Negro boy won. Race feeling developed throughout the entire camp. When the trouble died down it was found to be the result of instigation by a single boy who had cleverly aroused the entire group through allusions to the Detroit riot. Strangely enough he was undistinguished but was very shrewd and aggressive. He was an illegitimate child, a chronic masturbator and at the age of 6 stammered, soiled and wet himself and stole. At the age of 13 he became instigator of the riot. From a sexual point of view he had been exposed repeatedly to castration threats for his masturbation (circumcision and a broken arm by his mother who was punishing him for his offense). Likewise the element of spying was predominant and was the result of much peeping upon his parents in coitus. He wished to possess his mother, destroy his father and take his place but gave way under the pressure of castration anxiety to the adoption of a passive feminine attitude and identification with the mother. He fantasied seduction of the female counselor and felt she was spying upon them while they undressed. The author believes that the primal scene between the parents as witnessed by the

patient is acted out with the original sexual partners replaced by the two groups and the little boy recast in his original role as spy.

In the two studies on rape and race riot the author indicates that group symptom formation can be followed from the point of identification with the central person through various phases of acting out. The patterns of symptom formation are quite similar to that of group hysteria along the lines of identification of the group with the central instigator on the basis of a common etiologic factor and the acting out of a group fantasy.

Medicine and Biology

A CASE OF MUSICOGENIC EPILEPSY.

David Shaw and Denis Hill. J. Neurol., Neurosurg. & Psychiat.
10:407-17, August 1947.

The term "musicogenic" implies epilepsy induced by musical sounds. The condition seems to be somewhat rare since there are few reports in the literature. Many of the patients have an unusual knowledge and keen appreciation of classical music. Apparently an emotional disturbance is set up either because of vibrations or associated memories or perhaps both.

A case is reported at length of a married woman of 44 of German descent. She came to England from Saxony and made an apparently good adjustment as a secretary. In 1935 she had a liaison with a married man who died suddenly. The patient then began to develop amnesic episodes with confusion, lasting several hours during which she would wander aimlessly about the streets. In 1942 she married but her husband served in the Army overseas for a considerable time. Just prior to marriage, the patient became subject to periods of automatism. These were similar to petit mal attacks. In 1943 a typical attack occurred while she was listening to an organ. The music induced a dreamy state followed by a severe generalized headache. Conjugate deviation of the eyes occurred followed by tonic and clonic convulsions with unconsciousness. Corneal reflexes were present. An EEG was done with the conclusion that the patient was a typical epileptic. Following this initial attack, minor attacks now ensued almost invariably induced by music. Twice there was incontinence of urine. Music always caused her agitation, she would become talkative and after about ten minutes her hands would begin to claw the air and she would go into a convulsion. Respiration

would be notably increased. This was accompanied by increased heart rate and blood pressure.

The authors' discussion of the case leave no doubt about the patient being an epileptic. Hysterical manifestations were carefully ruled out. The movement first began in jacksonian fashion in the right arm and hand, and turning of the head and eyes to the right. Suggestion was made that the left temporal lobe was involved. Critchley has two different views of the pathogenesis of musicogenic epilepsy. The first theory is that the fit is brought about by increased cerebral blood flow. The heart rate, blood pressure and respiration are so much increased as to suggest this causation. A condition of hyperventilation is brought about. The second theory is purely psychogenic and postulates a summation of emotional discharges which overstimulate the diencephalon. There is an extremely slow "build-up" of rhythms before the convulsive discharge occurs.

Psychoanalysis

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EGO AND THE SUPER-EGO.

Jeane Lampl De Groot. Internat. J. Psycho-Analysis 28:7-11, Part I, 1947.

The experiences of war have brought a new viewpoint to the author so far as the relationship of the ego and super-ego are concerned. The individual's growth is a biologically based dynamic process which is influenced by social circumstances. This is likewise true so far as the social development of groups, nations and even mankind in general is concerned. The Id is a reservoir of the biologically rooted drives which are highly influenced by climate, economics, social life and political circumstances. There is a constant interplay of internal and external events on the ego. The ego in its struggle with the Id and with the dangers of reality, develops defense mechanisms which become incorporated into the character of the individual. The external relationship of this struggle has been freely studied and commented upon in the literature. The nature of the internal struggle however has not received adequate exploration. The ego develops out of the Id from an inborn ego core and has a development of its own. Under the influence of contact with reality,

certain ego functions arise upon which the whole structure of intelligence is based. These include perception and the memory traces derived therefrom, the knowledge gained by reality testing, the mastery of motility and finally the synthetic function. In brief these ego functions permit the establishment of memory images based upon perception and judgment of reality which lays the basis for mobilization of action of the individual and the growth of the personality through synthesis.

The Id requires satisfaction according to the pleasure-pain principle. The ego finds it necessary to modify many of these tendencies since they are socially unacceptable and do not meet the demands of reality. When the ego finds difficulty in meeting these demands it develops defense mechanisms, such as repression, isolation, regression reaction-formation, projection, introjection, sublimation, etc. In time these become part and parcel of the ego itself. When the demands of the outer world or the strength of the Id impulses become overwhelming, the ego is damaged, and is unable to function normally. Its synthetic function is especially deranged and there are faults in memory, the mastering of movement and of perception itself. Regression of the ego may occur in the so-called narcissistic neuroses and the psychoses. The ego becomes split-up and perception of the outer world cannot occur so that primitive wishful thinking predominates the scene.

The super-ego develops in the same way as the Id and the ego but it is especially the repository of a portion of the resolved Oedipus complex. The capacity for identification is of supreme importance for the building up of the super-ego. It is a well-known fact that the hostility towards the father (in the case of the boy) finally becomes aggression turned upon himself. Through the process of identification with the father and introjection of hostility, the super-ego is gradually matured. The punishing qualities of the super-ego therefore become dependent upon the intensity of this hostility. This portion of the super-ego which is derived from the parental image thus constitutes the critical judgment faculty. The ego-ideal comprises the other portion of the super-ego. Its function is that of maintaining the narcissistic position of the ego-organization. Anything short of this will not permit a well-balanced functioning of the personality. It will be noted therefore that primary identifications are of the utmost importance in the development of the super-ego and if these are weak, the structure of the super-ego itself is thereby jeopardized. The author concludes with a statement that the driving forces of religious, ethical and scientific achievements of mankind are to be found in compensatory forces for aggressiveness and self assertion.

THE LIBIDO CONCEPT.

Ilse Forest. Am. J. Orthopsychiat. 17:700-706, October 1947.

The concept of libido which of course is a pivotal point in the freudian theory, means subjectively striving, a desire to accomplish the fundamental interests of life. Objectively, it is a kind of free-floating power investing the objects in the environment with color and desirability. Popular concept attributed Freud's theory of libido almost exclusively to the sex desire. In reality, he modified this initial concept so that the ego or self-preservative instincts were included. As his studies increased he found it necessary to include within the living organism, death impulses as well as urges towards fuller life (the ego and sex). Further clarification towards the definition of libido therefore became a necessity. There seemed to be two opposing instincts involved, namely life and death. Much more study has been given to the former of these two components. It became apparent that the two instincts are not always antagonistic but that the death instinct was more archaic and fundamental than the urge to live. The two instincts had a common meeting ground however in the relief of tension. For example, hunger creates a tension which is relieved by eating, — a decidedly self-preservative instinct. Death likewise can bring a relief from the tension of living.

The Id is the original repository of the libido. During infantile life, the individual is concerned entirely with internal events, such as the relief of hunger and from discomfort brought about by sensory stimuli. Circumstances compel the infant to notice things going about in his environment which affect him directly and thus the ego which enables him to relate himself to reality is slowly formed. The Id continues to be dominant for quite a period before the ego can take complete charge. During this period, however, libidinal flow tends to become directed towards some object (object libido). The nature of the individual personality thus becomes profoundly affected by the ego-object choices. In the struggle of the ego to maintain control of this libidinal energy, a compromise between the Id and reality-principle must be effected. The way in which this is brought about is influenced greatly by the resolution of the Oedipus situation and the contact with the people who surround the child. Out of these influences the super-ego which will exert a critical faculty over the ego is formed. There are three general types of individual personality which may result through the compromise of the ego (sublimation) in order to control the situation. The first is the erotic type which gains greatest satisfaction through loving and being

loved. The transformation of object-libido into ego-libido has done little violence to the personality. The second type of individual is the compulsive type in which the super-ego is tyrannical. Such an individual is tormented by his conscience. The third type is a narcissistic personality which frequently shows qualities of leadership and which directs libidinal energy towards useful ends in the external world.

THE ANALYSIS OF AN EXHIBITIONIST.

Melitta Sperling. Internat. J. Psycho-Analysis 28:32-45, Part I, 1947.

The case presented in this analysis was that of a professional man 29 years of age who was apprehended for the first time when exhibiting himself in a subway train. He was the oldest of 4 children. His father was described as being a domineering person who frequently punished him. He had been brought up very strictly by both parents. Sex was a topic tabooed in the family. In school he did fairly well although his weak subject was arithmetic. He claimed to have participated in all physical activities and to have been a good athlete but at time of arrest he seemed feeble. When he was 15 years of age he was pushed against a girl in a crowded street car and thus experienced sexual excitement. He developed a habit of traveling in crowded cars and developed a technic for touching women. At such times he would exhibit himself. At the age of 13 masturbation was started and he had intercourse for the first time at the age of 25. This was not satisfactory and thereafter he had either a premature ejaculation or would be impotent altogether.

In the patient's opinion his exhibitionism is caused by three factors: (1) his father and mother were first cousins; (2) his middle name is Percy; (3) his penis is too small. Dream material indicated constant fears about the penis being retained in the vagina. One of his main defenses was of putting himself into the active role by converting what he experienced passively into doing it actively himself. Castration fears, of course, were predominant. The dream material indicated confusion of the sexes. The feeling of frustration with reactions to disappointment were closely linked with his exhibitionism. He had a deep fear of women, felt he was rejected by them and in compensation possessed strong sadistic wishes for punishing them.

At this phase in the analysis he passed the recollection stage and began to act out the Oedipus complex. The dream material plainly revealed he was seeking refuge in homosexuality. He had mostly wet

dreams at this time. Often he complained of headaches and insomnia and resorted to sleeping pills. The incestuous cravings and fear of punishment by his father became evident to the patient. He had reached the stage between the forbidden heterosexuality and the dreaded homosexuality. Much resentment was expressed for his mother with envy and jealousy of his younger brother as a rival for the mother's affection. On several occasions he mentioned a childhood incident in which his sister had led him to exhibit himself to her and later when he attempted to repeat the performance, she told his grandmother. Out of this grew a marked distrust for women. Deep feelings of inferiority were overcompensated by exhibitionism.

He established a relationship with a girl he met on a street car and through her came to learn a great deal about himself. He never really established heterosexual relations inasmuch as he constantly resorted to excuses and devices for avoiding intercourse. His basic conflict was between the feeling that he should accept a woman as a love-object and his desire to remain in a narcissistic retreat where he could masturbate with incestuous fantasies, and could exhibit himself. He began to think of marrying the girl but was constantly tormented by the desire for exhibitionism. His relationship to her clearly indicated he had not yet overcome his early separation from his mother and the original trauma of losing the mother's breast. The analysis finally resolved this conflict; he married the girl and has had no relapses in conduct since.

The author suggests that the real point of resistance in analysis of exhibitionistic cases is narcissism. In this particular patient, the sense of frustration and of denial was strong. He saw one child after another at his mother's breast and felt himself denied. He identified himself with the nursing mother and accordingly penis and breast were equated in the patient's mind. Through exhibitionism he denied the fear of castration. Accordingly his act was not a true perversion but was as symptomatic action on a compulsive basis. Oral fixation obviously is the most important determinant of exhibitionism.

THE CONCEPT OF TRAUMA IN CONTEMPORARY PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL THEORY.

Otto Fenichel, Internat. J. Psycho-Analysis 26: 33-44, Parts I and II, 1945.

The paper briefly summarizes a number of facts about neuroses in general. Tensions which have become dammed-up as a result of an

overwhelming increase of excitation within a given time (as in trauma) or by a decrease in discharge through inhibition by fear of the external world or by the bidding of the super-ego must find outlet. The emotional accompaniment of this tensional state is anxiety. If discharge is secured the anxiety disappears. The anxiety is seated primarily in the ego and even in those conditions in which the ego has not been differentiated from the Id, the anxiety is felt passively. The ego functions as a protective barrier against stimuli from the outer world and at the same time has developed a judgment factor which enables it to anticipate impulses from the Id and stimuli from reality in terms of danger to the personality. The anticipation of danger is one of the most important functions of the ego. Customarily the super-ego is considered the critical judgment mechanism but this is exercised in terms of moral and ethical perception whereas the ego exercises its critical faculty in terms of defense against danger. Such a situation is essentially a traumatic one and is experienced by the ego as anxiety. Unless the ego can find means for dispersing the anxiety through an adequate release of tensional state, the ego itself may suffer damage. Unexpected, unanticipated events are particularly liable to overwhelm the ego. These may be of the nature of severe fright and shock brought about by trauma or to unexpected influx of excitations through the vegetative nervous system. Thus in every neurosis there is an excessive tension brought about either by true trauma or by damming-up through a defense against instinct.

In consideration of the second of these possibilities one must recognize that excitation from within (instinctual tension) may have the same effect as a trauma caused by sensory stimuli from without. The impact however, is not sudden. Instinctual tension is episodic inasmuch as it rises to a peak and then subsides for a period. Only under two conditions can instinctual tension lead to a simulation of traumatic state and emerge as a threatening danger to the organism; first, if the external world threatens to intervene in an unpleasurable way in the process of the instinctual action; second, if there is a chronic or acute inadequacy in the apparatus for producing instinctual satisfaction so that the hope for that satisfaction is entirely eliminated. Sexual sensations (instinctual tension) and aggressive ones as well, are pleasurable up to a certain point at which time they become charged with the element of danger and threat to the organism so that anxiety is produced. The pleasure and satisfaction of these predanger states, has all the characteristics of fore-pleasure and consequently will be preserved as long as possible. Therefore, as has been indicated above, if an outside source threatens to ter-

minate this pleasure, or there is an inadequacy on the part of the mechanism to experience that pleasure (sexual satisfaction) then the elements of a true trauma are in the process of making. It will be noted therefore that anxiety may be traumatic, realistic or moral in development.

A brief discussion of claustrophobia is undertaken by the author. The patient's unconscious identification of himself with the embryo in utero is obvious in this fear of closed-in spaces. Three factors seem to be in operation in bringing about a panic-like state of mind in the patient. First, he feels that there is a restraint of movement so that the damming-up instinct increases with the development of anxiety. This, in effect, is frustration on account of interference with movement and is a quite primary condition of reaction. Second, the anxiety engendered is a physiologic accompaniment of the sensation of being hemmed in. The third factor which is not generally recognized but which almost invariably accompanies claustrophobia is the feeling of panic caused by the thought, not so much of being hemmed in, but of the inability to get out if an emergency arises. An anxiety of this nature is closely allied to that of train-sickness, sea-sickness and motor-anxiety and are trauma that recall primal scenes. In such conditions the ego is overwhelmed and suffers a complete collapse. With the loss of ego-function, the organism may then regress to the vegetative level and exhibit such phenomena as loss of sphincter control, immobilization, or flight in panic. The overwhelming of the ego may of course lead to impotence. It is noteworthy that the same is true at the height of sexual excitation. This would seem to postulate that there is in effect no primary hostility on the part of the ego towards instinct for otherwise the phenomenon of orgasm would not be possible.

The fear of the individual of his ego being overwhelmed is intense because the situation is felt as equivalent to castration. Thus in conversion phenomena, instinctual activity may be blocked by the ego and diverted into vegetative pathways, thereby leading to apparent physical disabilities such as paralysis, etc. While this relieves tensional states the situation is interpreted by the ego as a partial annihilation by the external world. In effect, this is equated with castration. The fear of the ego being overwhelmed is likewise great if sexual wishes of a passive feminine kind are prominent in the unconscious. These are revivals of primal scenes and are essentially quite traumatic in character. The answer to the question previously raised, therefore, with respect to the hostility of the ego towards instinct, is primarily that the ego permits itself to be overwhelmed without the use of its defensive processes in situa-

tions where pleasurable satisfaction is intense (orgasm, sleep) since it does not dread the quantity of instinct present and since the apparatus of discharge is adequate.

Distinction is to be made between the traumatic neuroses and psychoneuroses. In the former there is an influx of excessive excitation tending to overwhelm the ego with resultant anxiety. In the latter the instinctual excitation becomes dammed-up. In effect this is a trauma in itself. The overwhelming of the ego, as has been previously explained, is unconsciously regarded as castration and consequently upsets the balance between the repressed instincts and the defensive forces, therefore permitting unconscious sadistic instincts to come into operation.

Sociology and Anthropology

THE DRINKING DRIVER. PROBLEMS OF ENFORCEMENT.

David Geeting Monroe. Quart. J. Stud. on Alcohol 8:385-405, December 1947.

The drinking driver was involved in one out of every six fatal accidents in the United States during 1946. The making of laws and their enforcement has up to this time been quite ineffectual. The coming of the automobile and the increase of intoxication have inevitably led to a great increase in accidents. No law can be enforced effectively unless it is backed by public opinion. People in general have a very poor understanding of what happens to the driver's capacities when he is intoxicated. In addition to the ignorance of the public, there is the added difficulty of securing legislation that will prevent the guilty from escaping. Such results decrease the morale of the police who fail to secure convictions. Finally, intoxication is an exceedingly difficult charge to prove. Some individuals may imbibe large quantities of liquor and retain their clarity of intellect and control of responses to a remarkable extent. Other individuals lose this ability after taking only one or two glasses of an intoxicating beverage. Furthermore, the same individual may be affected to varying extents by the same quantity of liquor at different times. For example, the same individual who is fatigued, hungry, worried, having had loss of sleep may be affected differently than when he imbibes after a heavy dinner and in full vigor of health. Thus the quantity of liquor taken and the amount of it in the blood are not criteria for the degree of intoxication. Great difficulty is encountered by the law and by the scien-

tific laboratories in devising an adequate yardstick for the measurement of intoxication. Many of these scientific attempts have not yet been adjudged by the Court as admissible evidence. The opinions of those who observe the intoxicant (opinion evidence) is still the greatest weight in supporting or refuting the charge of inebriation.

Some of the difficulties encountered by the professional men such as the interne, or the policeman who makes the original contact with the inebriant, are as follows: The person may be in a comatose condition with liquor odor on his breath. Such an individual may be suffering from cerebral concussion, fractured skull, subdural hematoma or extremely high blood pressure. He may have had only one drink before the organic brain damage occurred. The state of shock may simulate intoxication. The same is true with regard to an overdose of insulin in diabetics. The test of having the suspect walk a line is a notably fallible test for intoxication. Many stone sober people cannot walk a straight line if their lives depend upon it. Many intoxicants can perform this test with the celerity of a tight-rope walker. Very few symptoms of alcoholic intoxication cannot be duplicated by pathologic conditions.

Several primary weaknesses of the traditional methods in the determination of intoxication are brought out by the author. He points out that quite intoxicated people are not traffic menaces, because they crawl off somewhere and go to sleep. The individual who seems to be alert and is only mildly intoxicated is the greatest traffic danger. The amount of alcohol absorbed into the brain tissue is the real determining factor and of course this is almost impossible of proof. It is thought that the concentration of the alcohol in the blood will determine the concentration in the brain. Blood alcohol above 0.15 per cent is considered as *prima facie* evidence that a person is intoxicated. It is only a question of time that the Court will be compelled to accept scientific data of this nature as admissible evidence.

CRIME AND MATURITY.

W. Norwood East. Medico-Legal & Criminol. Rev. 14:85-102, Parts 3 & 4, December 1946.

Adolescence is a period of inexperience, indecision and uncertainty as to the future. The individual is peculiarly susceptible to pressure stresses at that age and may react in an antisocial manner if his upbringing has been inadequate. Crime of middle age, however, is one particu-

larly against property if one may rule out sex offenses which seem to have a special background of their own. The table submitted by the author, however, indicates the age of greater incidence of crime is during the period of 14 to 21 years. During the span of 14 to 30 years there are nearly three times as many offenders enumerated as for all the remaining periods. The acquisitive crimes far exceed those against person (assault) and sexual offenses. Indecent assaults on women and girls are two and one-half times more frequent in the age group up to 30 years than from 30 to 50. The conclusion is reached that despite the sobering effects of maturity, a considerable proportion of first offenders have reached middle age before they are taken up by the law. Imprisonment seems to have a salutary effect upon them.

Several pages of the discussion are taken up by consideration of the distinction between normality and abnormality. The author, like many of his predecessors, has considerable difficulty in designating what constitutes normality. He admits that manner of behavior which is acceptable in one group would be considered antisocial in another, which of course implies that normality is not necessarily an innate capacity but is determined to a great extent by the mores of the community in which the individual finds himself. Several authors are quoted to some avail. Wile considers normality a function rather than a structure. Burnham places the whole matter on the basis of the ability of the mind to compensate for its defects and weaknesses. Sadler considers the normal individual as only a theoretic postulation. He says in truth there is no such thing as normality. Burt believes that in a normal individual the emotions and instincts are of average strength with none dominating over the other. The author calls attention to the widely current belief that normal people are socially acceptable whereas the abnormal are socially disrupted. He remarks "the most significant differences in connection with criminal conduct concern varieties of intelligence and wisdom, of perceptive ability and the capacity for reasoning acutely and judgment accurately, of beliefs and doubts, of aims and aversion, of the strength and persistency of the instinctive activities, of the value of pleasure and pain associated with the fulfillment of frustration of desire, of the ability to exercise self control, of temperament and mood, and generally of the manner in which impacts affect behavior."

Abnormality likewise gives the author much difficulty of definition. He admits that it is not necessarily a pathologic state of mind. Certain conditions which represent advanced stages are of course recognized to be abnormal. (Mental defectiveness, psychopathic personality, psychos-

es). Most abnormal behavior, however, can usually be related to emotional causes of failure of inhibition. East concludes that there is no sharp dividing line between normality and abnormality.

Maturity indicates an ability to deal with the problems of subsistence, security, sex and human relationships. To indicate that the criminal fails in these matters is beside the point because there are many imponderables with which the criminologist has to deal. It is quite conceivable that a highly successful criminal may have attained considerable maturity and on the other hand a highly respected and valued citizen in the community may lack several elements in his makeup that would be considered mature. Social conduct therefore cannot be limited to a consideration of maturity. Several personal factors are deterrents to antisocial conduct; namely, self criticism, conscience and insight. Criminals are noteworthy for the lack of these qualities. In middle age there is less resiliency and the need to be more cautious and reserved acts as a severe deterrent on misbehavior. Recidivism is the crime of youth. Comparatively few white haired persons are encountered in the prisons of today.

A PLEA FOR SELECTIVE PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT FOR OFFENDERS.

Michael M. Miller. J. Crim. Law & Criminol. 37:377-83, Jan.-Feb. 1947.

The material obtained for this study was derived in part from the Municipal Court Clinic of Cleveland, Ohio and in part from the Division for the Criminal Insane at St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D. C. Emphasis is thrown upon the defensive mechanisms developed by offenders from the perspective of their social orientation. The 15 per cent that approximately comprised the so-called psychopathic offender, the author eliminates from his discussion. The characteristics showed by the social offender are, in brief: gross lack of concern for the feelings of their fellow men, and being dominated in their behavior largely by emotional impulses rather than by intellectual considerations. He does not feel the self condemnation and anxiety that the normal person would feel in doing an injustice to someone else. He does not care to develop any social consciousness although in many instances he may speak well, is persuasive and may have a body of general information greater than that of the average person.

The marked degree of social immaturity evidenced by offenders places them in a peculiar position with respect to reaction to incarceration.

ation. There is the sense of guilt and the feeling for the need for punishment. To a certain extent many of these men are content with imprisonment but react with bitter rage and hostility against the feeling of ostracism. Their tendencies towards seclusiveness are thereby deepened. They not only turn against their fellow man but also against their fellow criminal as well. The frustration and social isolation operating for a length of time, bring about distinct changes in their personality. Unfortunately society has not chosen to recognize these facts but still treats the offender with rigid discipline and by removal from society and at times complete isolation. When a number of offenders, most of whom are socially immature, are brought together under the same roof, they cannot learn by their experiences and therefore come to react in a primitive manner. Their return to crime and violence is to be anticipated. The lack of understanding on the part of the public that these offenders are in many instances capable of amazing degrees of resourcefulness, deprives that community of much useful talent. Many offenders though they be lacking in moral sense, may have strong characters otherwise. Their principal defect seems to be that of insight, judgment and ability to evaluate.

Several methods of modifying the defective manner in which the community is handling the offender are suggested by the author. The indeterminate sentence would permit a better classification and selection of offenders for return to the community. They would not be compelled to serve long futile years in servitude when they might be of value to themselves and to the community. A psychiatric study of the personalities of the offenders should place the Court in a much better position to dispose of the cases than if no evaluation were available. Finally goals must be improvised to meet the needs of each offender so that he will have something definite towards which to work.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF CULTURE CHANGE FOR PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT.

Margaret Mead. Am. J. Orthopsychiat. 17:633-46, October 1947.

In a homogeneous slowly changing society, the development of human personality need not follow a similar course. While it is true that the individual carries the cultural assumption of the environment in which he is placed and he either accepts or forcibly rejects the demands of his community, he may exhibit a course somewhat outside this frame of reference. For example, he may reinforce and consolidate past ex-

periences and he may prefigure future experience. Much of his action will be automatic and ceremonial. The advancing of age brings about more economy in motor behavior, a diminution of fatiguing and non-productive efforts as a compensation for the spontaneity and zest of younger years. The present social status is such, however, as to discount much of this routine of previous years which dealt with consolidation of the past, prefiguration of the future, autonomic behavior and sureness of age. The rapidity of social change has been so great that the ordinary methods of reaction cannot hold true. There is an urgent need to define characteristics and integrate them into our experience if we may predicate problems involved in the task of the educator and therapist.

The author indicates several conflicts which confront the individual reared in one homogeneous culture but who enter a quite different culture as an adult. The immigrant to this country is in such a situation. The new mores almost completely supplant the customs of former life although, of course, great confusion exists at first. If an attempt is made to return to the immigrant's former culture, confusion and an apparent loss of memory may occur. The author believes that change in the personality structure of the individual is a factor in such instances. The individual has shared intensely two contrasting cultures within his life history. Another order of complication occurs where the immigrant brings with him his old customs and lives in a portion of the city in which the old customs are preserved. His native tongue may be spoken and folkways may be preserved almost intact. During the working day, however, he goes into an entirely different cultural level, speaks a different language and must adapt himself to different modes of conduct. The split in this case is not complete and the individual does not emancipate himself completely from the old life.

The same type of change to a modified degree can and does occur to the native of this country. Thus the individual may be reared in a very rural environment and come to spend his adult life in a metropolitan surrounding. From an economic point of view the individual may come up from very poor surroundings to considerable wealth and consequent meeting with different strata of society. Fragmented types of development may occur. This is brought about by such conditions as destruction of the home through war, and distortion of the family group when the mechanisms of inter-generation behavior break down. Finally one must take into consideration the effects of oscillatory changes between the members of different generations within the same family. For example, the mobility of the family group dividing different cultural

levels for the several members of the family, the over protection of one of the children, the differences between old world ideals and those of the new world may cause disorientation especially in the children of the family group. The parents of such a group may have a nostalgia for old experiences, memories of the past and expectations of the future and unevenness of grasp of the contemporary scene which react unfavorably upon the children and their charge.

The children themselves may lose the ability to organize experience in terms of a cultural reality. As the author puts it, "perceived experience becomes atomized into units which have no structural relationship to a whole that can no longer be perceived." Correctional devices which are coming to the front in modern American culture are the rearing of children on the basis of their own physiologic rhythm for habit formation, letting the child strike its own pace and permitting the individual to receive only that measure of help which is necessary to ensure integration.

THE SOCIAL PATTERN OF ALCOHOLIC DRINKING.

John W. Riley and Charles F. Marden. Quart. J. Stud. On Alcohol 8:265-73, September 1947.

The answers to the questions as to how many people in this country drink, what they drink and what are their social characteristics is answered for the first time according to the authors in this study made by a survey for Rutgers University. The larger survey was sponsored by the New Jersey Commission on Alcoholism and the Research Council on Problems of Alcohol. The data obtained were compared to those found by the American Institute of Public Opinion reported in September 1946.

Almost 2 out of every 3 adults in postwar America report that they drink some kind of alcoholic beverage. No attempt can be made to differentiate between the moderate and excessive drinker. Regular drinkers are defined as those who drink at least three times a week. All others are designated occasional drinkers. Seventeen per cent of the total population are regular drinkers. Thirty-five per cent are abstainers. Drinking is apparently part of the accepted behavior pattern by all classes of people whether rich or poor, male or female, rural or urban, Protestant, Catholic or Jew. Beer is the most popular drink, although a slightly larger percentage drink wine, beer and liquor. The least favored drink is a cordial. Wines are poorly favored.

Reference is made to Ley's study in 1940 of 10,000 life insurance policy holders. Drinking among women has markedly increased during the 1940 to 1946 period. The male population still exceeds the female by nearly 20 per cent. There are over three times as many men as women who are regular drinkers. Farm communities show a decided decrease in proportion of regular drinkers to the city population. The metropolitan areas over 1 million in population show the heaviest incidence of both regular and occasional drinkers. Suggestion is made that the lenient urban attitude towards drinking is sifting down through the smaller areas. An increase in drinking can therefore be expected in small towns and rural non-farm communities, in the near future.

Even education does not change the picture to any extent. Seventy per cent of the regular drinkers had at least a high school education. Economic factors likewise seem to be of little importance for 21 per cent of the prosperous and 16 per cent of the poor were regular drinkers. It would be expected that religious differences would indicate varying attitudes towards the use of alcohol. There were almost twice the percentage of Protestant abstainers as Catholics and the proportion was three times that of the Jews. The conclusion drawn by the authors that basic social trends are apparently reducing the proportion of total abstainers. The mores and social conventions of the United States are far from being crystallized. The rise in the relative proportion of female drinkers reflects the increasing trend towards the emancipation of women. Urbanization attenuates the strength of primary social controls and therefore the postwar migration to cities is consonant with the increased proportion of drinkers in our society.